

**THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL ASSISTANCE ON HUMAN CAPACITY
DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY AMONGST HOUSEHOLDS
AFFECTED BY HIV AND AIDS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

by

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I declare that **THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL ASSISTANCE ON HUMAN CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY AMONGST HOUSEHOLDS AFFECTED BY HIV AND AIDS IN SOUTH** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references. I further declare that I submitted the thesis to originality checking software and that it falls within the accepted requirements for originality. I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at Unisa for another qualification or at any other higher education institution.

SIGNATURE:



DATE: 17 September 2018

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the following people:

My precious wife, Lydie-Francoise Nguala Mbenza, and my two beautiful children, Tabitha Dola Kiabilua and Nathan Nkondo Kiabilua, for their unconditional love, support and patience;

My late father, Dominique Kiabilua, and late mother, Albertine Dola Sita, for being wonderful, supportive, loving and caring parents;

My late sister, Marie-Madeleine Kiabilua, and late brothers, State Attorney (Premier Avocat General) Charles Mavinga Kiabilua, who passed away when I was completing this thesis, and Dominique (Dodo) Kiabilua, for their love and support;

All vulnerable people, including households affected by HIV and AIDS, who due to poverty and limited human capacity, struggle to meet their basic needs and have sustainable livelihoods.

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ABSTRACT

Many poor households in South Africa rely on social grants for their survival, forcing the government to spend on the programme, to the detriment of other socioeconomic programmes necessary for poverty alleviation and economy growth. This study investigated the impact of the South African social assistance policies and programmes on the human capacity development of beneficiaries, especially households affected by HIV/AIDS, residing in informal settlements. Following a qualitative approach, exploratory and case study techniques were used to collect and analyse data. In-depth interviews and observations at research sites uncovered rich data elucidated by social capital theory and the capability approach. The thesis commenced with social assistance as implemented in OECD and BRICS countries, including South Africa. The notion of human capacity development, as linked to social assistance, poverty alleviation and economic growth, was presented. Conditional social programmes directed at human capacity development via educational assistance were contrasted with universal social assistance systems. Findings revealed that South Africa, despite its low level of economic growth, has a well-developed, selective social assistance system. Social grants assist beneficiaries to meet urgent needs, such as food and transport to hospital and for job seeking. It is insufficient to meet other basic needs, including capacity development. There is a shortage of educational facilities and training programmes in poor communities, which sometimes exclude adult men and youth without Grade 12. There is no guarantee of a job or business opportunities for graduates from skills development centres. Many who have completed their training are placed in entry-level jobs that earn salaries below the social grant exit requirements. Recommendations to increase the array of social grant instruments and to introduce conditional grants for vulnerable adults were made. In particular, the provision of scholarships to needy youths and adults was recommended, augmented by more educational facilities in poor communities, more training programmes, and the establishment of structures that will provide decent job placement and business opportunities for graduates. Urgent provision of decent housing for the poor and improvements in public health infrastructure, roads,

water and electricity, in order to facilitate the human development of needy people is further needed.

Keywords: Social assistance, social grants, human capacity development, households affected by HIV and AIDS, informal settlements, poverty, economic growth, social capital, capability approach, South Africa

IQOQA

Abantu abathola izibonelelo zikahulumeni banezidingo ezihlukahlukene kubandakanya izidingo eziyisisekelo kanye nezidingo zokuthuthukiswa kwamakhono abo okuziphilisa nokuzinakekela. Lolu cwaningo luphenya umthelela wezinqubomgomo kanye nezinhlelo zaseNingizimu Afrika zokubonelela nokubhekelela umphakathi, kubahlomuli bezinhlelo zokuthuthukiswa kwamakhono okuziphilisa nokuzinakekela, ikakhulukazi kulawo makhaya akhahlaneywe yi-HIV ne-AIDS asezindaweni eziyimijondolo.

Izindlela zokuqoqa nokuhlaziya idatha ezasetshenziswa kulolu cwaningo yizindlela ezikhwalthethivu (qualitative methods), izindlela ezihlodayo (explorative) kanye nezincwaningo zezigameko (case studies). Idatha yaqoqwa ngokusebenzisa izingxoxo (ama-inthaviyu) ezijulile kanye nokubuka lokho okwenziwayo (observation) ezizindeni okwakuqhutshwa kuzona ucwaningo. Lolu cwaningo lwasebenzisa futhi ne-social capital theory kanye ne-capability approach njengohlaka lwethiyori.

Kulolu cwaningo, kwethulwa isibuyekezo esifingqiwe sezincwadi nemibhalo efundiwe ephathelene nomqondo wezibonelelo zikahulumeni kanye nezinhlelo ezisetshenziswa kwamanye amazwe angamalungu ombimbi lwe-OECD kanye ne-BRICS kubandakanya neNingizimu Afrika, futhi kwethulwa nomqondo wokuthuthukiswa kwamakhono okuziphilisa nokuzinakekela kwabantu ngokuwaxhumanisa nezibonelelo zikahulumeni, ukuncishiswa kobubha kanye nokukhulisa umnotho.

Mayelana nokuqhathaniswa kwezinhlelo zezibonelelo zikahulumeni, lokho okwatholwa kulolu cwaningo kwabonisa ukuthi iNingizimu Afrika, nakuba umnotho wayo usezingeni eliphansi uma uqhathaniswa neminotho yamazwe ombimbi lwe-OECD namanye amazwe e-BRICS, inohlelo lwezibonelelo zikahulumeni olwakhiwe kahle kakhulu futhi oluthuthukile impela, olugxile emikhakheni yabantu abakhethiweyo, njengabantu abantulayo, ikakhulukazi izingane, abantu abadala, kanye nabantu abagula kakhulu. Lolu hlelo

lwezibonelelo zikahulumeni oluqondiswe kubantu abakhethiweyo luyasetshenziswa nakwamanye amazwe e-BRICS kanye naseMelika, njengoba lawa mazwe nawo enazo izinhlelo ezihlukahlukene zokulekelela nokubhekelela umphakathi ngaphansi kwemibandela ethile, kubandakanya nohlelo lokuthuthukiswa kwamakhono okuziphilisa nokuzinakekela kwabantu, njengohlelo losizo lwezemfundo lokulekelela abantu abantulayo. Ngokuphambene nalokhu okushiwo ngenhla, iningi lamazwe ombimbi lwe-OECD lisebenzisa izinhlelo ezihlinzeka ngezibonelelo zikahulumeni kubantu bonke, lapho wonke umuntu enelungelo lokuhlinzekwa ngezibonelelo zikahulumeni kungakhathalekile ukuthi uholo malini nokuthi ukusiphi isigaba somphakathi. Lokhu kunomthelela omuhle kwezempilo, ekuncishisweni kokucwaswa nokubukelwa phansi kwabantu abathola izibonelelo, kanye nokunciphisa izinga lokuswelakala kwamathuba omsebenzi kubantu abangabahlomuli bezibonelelo zikahulumeni, njengoba kugxilwa kakhulu kwezemfundo nosizo lwezempilo.

Uhlelo lwezibonelelo zikahulumeni lwaseNingizimu Afrika, ikakhulukazi, luhlinzeka ngezibonelelo zikahulumeni ngenhloso yokulekelela abahlomuli ukuthi bakwazi ukuhlangabezana nezidingo zabo eziphuthumayo, njengokudla, ukuthuthwa kwabantu abagulayo, ukuthungatha umsebenzi, izingubo zokugqoka, ukunakekelwa kwezingane, irenti, ugesi, kanye – kwesinye isikhathi – nokutshala izimali emabhizinisini amancane. Kepha-ke, isithiyo esikhulukazi esiphazamisa lolu hlelo wukuntuleka kwemali yezibonelelo eyanele ukubhekelela ngisho nalezo zidingo zokuthuthukiswa kwamakhono ezisemqoka kakhulu futhi eziyisisekelo. Ukuntuleka kwezikhungo zemfundo kanye nezinhlelo nokuqeqeshwa emiphakathini edla imbuya ngothi kanye nokushiya ngaphandle kwemikhakha ethile yabantu (okusho, amadoda asemadala kanye nentsha engenawo umatikuletsheni) ezinhlelweni ezithile zokuthuthukiswa kwamakhono, kunomthelela ongemuhle ekuthuthukisweni kwesimo semfundo sale miphakathi, futhi ngalokho-ke lokhu kunciphisa amathuba abo okuncintisana kahle nabanye ekutholeni umsebenzi kanye/noma ekusunguleni ibhizinisi. Futhi asikho nesiqiniseko sokuthola umsebenzi noma amathuba okuvula ibhizinisi kulabo abaphothule izifundo zabo ezikhungweni zokuthuthukiswa kwamakhono nakwezinye izikhungo zemfundo ezitholakala

emiphakathini ehlwempu ngenxa yokuncintisana okukhulu okubangelwa yinani labantu abaningi ngokweqile abafuna umsebenzi kanye nalabo abazama ukusungula nokuqhuba amabhizinisi. Ngaphezu kwalokho, labo abavela kulezi zikhungo zokuqeqeshwa abanenhlanhla yokuzitholela itoho bafakwa emisebenzini esezingeni eliphansi evamise ukukhokhela umholo ophansi kakhulu, okwenza bangakwazi ukuhlangabezana nezidingo ezizokwenza ukuthi bakwazi ukuphuma ohlelweni lwezibonelelo zikahulumeni, okuyinto eholela ekutheni baqhubeke nokuthembela ezibonelelweni zikahulumeni ngenhloso yokuziphilisa.

Mayelana nokwenziwa ngcono kohlelo lwezibonelelo zikahulumeni lwaseNingizimu Afrika ukuze lukwazi ukubhekelela izidingo zabahlomuli eziyisisekelo kanye nezidingo zokuthuthukiswa kwamakhono abo okuziphilisa nokuzinakekela, lolu cwaningo seluthuthukise uhlaka-mqondo (conceptual framework) oluxhumanisa izibonelelo zikahulumeni nokuthuthukiswa kwamakhono okuziphilisa nokuzinakekela, oluholela ekuncishisweni kobubha, nokuphuma kwabantu ezinhlelweni zezibonelelo zikahulumeni futhi olufaka isandla ekukhulisweni komnotho wezwe. Ngokulekelelwa yimibono yababambiqhaza bocwaningo, lolu cwaningo luhlinzeka izincomo kuhulumeni, ezibandakanya ukukhushulwa kwezinhlobo ezihlukahlukene zezibonelelo zikahulumeni kanye nokwethulwa kwezibonelelo ezintsha ezihambisana nemibandela, eziqondiswe kulabo bantu abashiywe ngaphandle, okusho abantu abadala abantulayo. Lolu cwaningo luncoma futhi ukuthi bahlinzekwe ngemifundaze abantu abasha kanye nabantu abadala abantulayo; kwakhiwe ezinye izikhungo zemfundo emiphakathini ehlwempu, ezihlinzeka ngezinhlelo zokuqeqesha ezihlukahlukene; futhi kuqaliswe izinhlelo ezizolekelela ukubatholela imisebenzi esezingeni elikahle labo asebethothule izifundo zabo futhi bahlinzekwe nangamathuba okusungula amabhizinisi. Ngaphezu kwalokhu, ukwakhiwa nokwenziwa ngcono kwezindlu zomxhaso kahulumeni (ama-RDP), ingqalasizinda yomphakathi njengezibhedlela/imitholampilo kanye nemigwaqo, nokuhlinzekwa kwamanzi ahlanzekile nogesi, kubonwa njengezinkinga okumele zixazululwe ukuze ziqaliswe futhi ziqhutshwe kahle izinhlelo zokuthuthukiswa kwabantu eNingizimu Afrika.

ISISHWANKATHELO

Abantu abafumana uncedo lwezentlalontle banezidingo ezahlukeneyo, eziquka uphuhliso lwezakhono ezisisiseko nezobuntu. Esi sifundo siphanda ifuthe leenkqubo nezicwangciso zoMzantsi Afrika ezijolise ukuphuhlisa izakhono zabantu abafumana uncedo lwezentlalontle, ngakumbi amakhaya achatshazelwa yintsholongwane iHIV noGawulayo, babe abo bantu behlala kwiindawo ezingekho sesikweni (ematyotyombeni).

Kwesi sifundo kusetyenziswe iindlela zophando lomgangatho, imfuno lwazi nokuqwalasela imizekelo yeemeko ezithile, xa bekuqokelelwa, kuhlalutywa iinkcukacha zolwazi. Ezi nkcukacha zolwazi zaqokelelwa ngokwenziwa kodliwano ndlebe olunzulu nokuqwalasela okwenzekayo kwiziza ezikhethelwe uphando. Esi sifundo saphinda sasebenzisa isakhelo sophando ngengcingane yokwakhana koluntu neyokuxhobisa ngezakhono.

Kuphengululwe uluncwadi olumalunga noncedo lwezentlalo neenkqubo ezisetyenziswa kwamanye amazwe eOECD naweBRICS aquka uMzantsi Afrika, kwaziswa nophuhliso lwezakhono zoluntu ngokunxulumene noncedo lwezentlalontle, ukulwa ubuhlwempu nokukhulisa uqoqosho.

Xa kuthelekiswa iinkqubo zoncedo lwezentlalontle, esi sifundo sidulise ukuba uMzantsi Afrika, nangona ukwizinga elingezantsi kwezozoqosho xa uthelekiswa namanye amazwe eOECD naweBRICS, unenkqubo esemgangathweni ophezulu yoncedo loluntu, egxininisa kubantu abangathathi ntweni, ngakumbi abantwana nabantu abagula kakhulu. Le nkqubo yokhetho ngobuchule yoncedo loluntu iyasetyenziswa nakwamanye amazwe eBRICS naseMelika, apho kukho nezonye iinkqubo zentlalontle ezinemiqathango ethile, neziquka ukuphuhlisa izakhono zoluntu, njengoncedo lwezemfundo kubantu abakwiimeko ezinkenekenene. Kwelinye icala, phantse onke amazwe eOECD asebenzisa iinkqubo zoncedo lwezentlalo zikawonkewonke, apho wonke umntu enelungelo lokuxhamla uncedo lwezentlalontle, nokuba ukweliphi na izinga lemivuzo nezentlalo. Le nkqubo inefuthe elincomekayo kwezempilo,

ukunciphisa ukujongelwa phantsi kwabantu abafumana uncedo lwezentlalontle, nokungaqeshwa kwabo bafumana olu ncedo, kuba apho kugxininiswa kakhulu kwimfundo nakwezempilo.

Inkqubo yoncedo lwezentlalontle yoMzantsi Afrika, inikezela ngenkxaso yemali yokunceda abo bayifumanayo ekuhlangabezeni ezona zidingo zabo ziphambili ezinjengesondlo, ukuhambela unyango, ukufuna umsebenzi, izinto zokunxiba, ukukhathalela abantwana, ukuqesha indawo yokuhlala, umbane, kwaye – maxa wambi – ukufaka imali kwishishini elincinane. Owona mqobo mkhulu kule nkqubo ngowokungabikho kwemali yezibonelelo eyaneleyo yokufinca nezona zidingo zisisiseko kuphuhliso lwezakhono. Ukunqongophala kwamaziko emfundo neenkqubo zoqeqesho kwimiphakathi ehluphekileyo, kwanokukhutshelwa ecaleni kwabantu abathile (njengamadoda nolutsha olungenamatriki) kwezinye iinkqubo zophuhliso lwezakhono, kuyayidodobalisa inkqubela yezinga lemfundo kule miphakathi, ihlise amathuba abo okuzigxama emisebenzini. Kananjalo, akukho siqiniseko samathuba emisebenzi ngenxa yokhuphiswano oluphezulu kwiindawo zemisebenzi. Ngaphezulu, abo bathi bafumane imisebenzi emva kokuphuma kula maziko oqeqesho, badla ngokufakwa kwimisebenzi esezantsi, enemivuzo engadluli nakwizibonelelo zentlalontle, nto leyo ibanyanzela ukuba babhenele ekuxhomekekeni kwakule mali yezibonelelo zentlalontle ukuze baphile.

Malunga nokuphucula inkqubo yoMzantsi Afrika yoncedo lwezentlalontle, neyokuhlangabezana nezona zidingo zisisiseko zophuhliso lwabantu abafumana uncedo, esi sifundo sivelise uphahla lokusebenza oludibanisa uncedo lwezentlalo nophuhliso loluntu, nto leyo inciphisa ubuhlwempu, ibakhuphe kwiinkqubo yezibonelelo zentlalontle, yenza ukuba bafake isandla ekukhuliseni ezoqoqosho. Ngokuthatha neengcebiso zabathathe inxaxheba kolu phando, esi sifundo sinika iingcebiso kurhulumente, eziquka ukwandisa iindidi ngeendidi zezibonelelo zentlalontle, ukusekwa kwezibonelelo ezitsha zabantu abakhethelwe ecaleni, njengabantu abaneemeko ezinkenenkene nabantu abadala. Kwakhona, esi sifundo sicebisa ukufundisa ubungcali bemfundo kulutsha nakwabadala abadingayo; ukwakhiwa kwamanye amaziko emfundo kwimiphakathi ehluphekileyo, apho kuya kubakho iinkqubo zoqeqesho

ezahlukeneyo; nokusekwa kweenkqubo eziya kukhuthaza ukufakwa kwimisebenzi efanelekileyo okanye kumathuba oshishino kwabo baphumelele kula maziko oqeqesho. Kukwacetyiswa ukwakhiwa nokuphuculwa kwezindlu zikarhulumente ezaziwa ngokuba ziiRDP, ukuphuculwa kwezibonelelo zokusebenza zikawonkewonke njengezibhedlele/iikliniki neendlela, ukunikezelwa kwamanzi acocokileyo nombane. Ezi zinto zibonwa njengemiba efanele ukulungiswa ukuze kuphuculwe uphuhliso loluntu eMzantsi Afrika.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABET	Adult Basic Education and Training
ADA	Austrian Development Agency
AFDC	Families with Dependent Children
AGRISETA	Agricultural Sector Education Training Authority
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ALMP(s)	Active Labour Market Policy (ies)
ANC	African National Congress
ART	Antiretroviral treatment
ARV	Antiretroviral
BANKSETA	Banking Sector Education and Training Authority
BIG	Basic Income Grant
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CCTs	Conditional cash transfers
CDC	Centres for Disease Control and Prevention
CETASETA	Construction Education and Training Authority
CHIETASETA	Chemical Industries Education and Training Authority
CIDA	International Development Agency
CIPRO	Companies and Intellectual Property Registration Office
CNY	Chinese yuan Renminbi (Chinese currency Unit)
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CSG	Child Support Grant
CSTHSETA	Culture, Sport, Tourism and Hospitality Sector Education And Training Authority
CTFLSETA	Manufacturing Sector Education and Training Authority
CV	Curriculum Vitae
DA	Democratic Alliance
DFID	Department for International Development
DG	Disability grant
DSD	Department of Social Development
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
ECLAC	Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean

EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
ESETA	Energy Sector Education and Training Authority
ETDPSETA	Education, Training and Development Practices Sector Education and Training Authority
FASSETSETA	Financial, Accounting, Management, Consulting and other Financial Services Sector Education and Training Authority
FCG	Foster Child Grant
FP&MSETA	Fibre Processing & Manufacturing Sector Education and Training Authority
FTI	Fast Track Initiative
GA	General Assistance
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution
GHS	General Household Survey
GNP	Gross National Product
HAART	Highly Active Anti-Retroviral Treatment
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
ICTSETA	Information and Communications Technology Sector Education and Training Authority
IDC	Industrial Development Corporation
ILO	International Labour Organization
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estadística
INSETA	Insurance Sector Education and Training Authority
ISSA	International Social Security Association
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JIPSA	Joint Initiative for Priority Skills Acquisition
LGSETA	Local Government Sector Education and Training Authority
LGSETA	Local Government Sector Education and Training Authority
MDG(s)	Millennium Development Goal(s)
MERSETA	Manufacturing, Engineering and Related Services Sector Education and Training Authority

MICTSETA	Media, Information and Communication Technologies Sector Education and Training Authority
MQASETA	Mining and Minerals Sector Education and Training Authority
n.d.	no date
NDA	Non-Disclosure Agreement
NDP	National Development Plan
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NPO	Non-Profit Organisation
NSF	National Skills Fund
NSFAS	National Student Financial Aid Scheme
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PSETA	Public Service Sector Education and Training Authority
QLI	Quality of Life Index
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
SALDRU	Southern Labour and Development Research Unit
SAQA	South African Qualifications Authority
SARS	South African Revenue Service
SASSA	South African Social Security Agency
SASSETA	Safety and Security Sector Education and Training Authority Services Sector Education and Training Authority
SERVICESETA	Services Sector Education and Training Authority
SETA	Sector Education and Training Authority
SHG(s)	Self-help group(s)
SNAP	Supplemental Assistance Program
SONA	State of the Nation Address
SROD	Social Relief of Distress
SSDSETA	Social Security and Development Sector Education and Training Authority
SSI	Supplemental Security Income
TANF	Temporary Assistance to Needy Families

TB	Tuberculosis
TETASETA	Transport Education and Training Authority
TSC	Tshwane South College
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UIF	Unemployment Insurance Fund
UK	United Kingdom
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV and AIDS
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNISA	University of South Africa
USA	United States of America
W&RSETA	Wholesale and Retail Sector Education and Training Authority
WHO	World Health Organization
WVG	War Veterans Grant

CHAPTER 1: PERSPECTIVES ON SOCIAL ASSISTANCE AND CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Poverty, as a multidimensional phenomenon, affects many people, especially those in countries of the South. HIV and AIDS compound the effects of poverty, resulting in affected individuals and households struggling to meet their basic needs, such as education, nutritional food, adequate shelter, health and sanitation (Green 2014; UNDP 2015). The deepening human crisis caused by recurrent famine, malnutrition and other illnesses leads to high rates of morbidity and mortality (Unite for Sight 2015; Fans 2012).

To address the poverty situation, countries of the Global South, such as Brazil, India and South Africa, have introduced social assistance policies and programmes in the form of cash transfers and in-kind, in order to assist poor people and households. The global economic crisis and rampant unemployment imply that such social assistance programmes place a large financial burden on governments' economies. It is estimated that some of these governments spend a hundred billion dollars each year to assist poor people and households who are in need, but are unable to recoup such spending in the form of taxes or other returns on investment from the beneficiaries, in order to boost their economies (Busch 2010; Mahugu & Chitiga-Mabugu 2016).

In this chapter, the researcher provides a general overview of the research problem by situating South African social assistance programmes in the policy context of poverty alleviation. In particular, the background to the study, problem statement, purpose of the study, limitations of the study, definition of key terms, importance of the study, and the structure of the thesis are described in this chapter.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

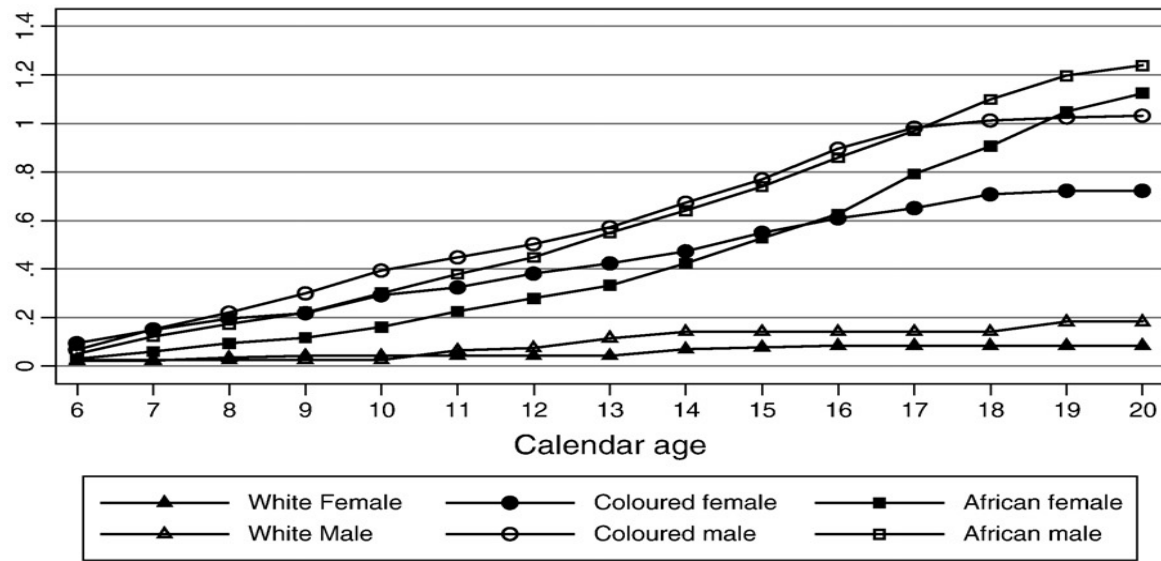
Historically, South Africa has experienced social injustices and inequality, especially during the apartheid regime, where social and economic advantages were the sole purview of Whites, to the detriment of Blacks, Coloureds and Indians. All institutions were affected, particularly education (capacity development) and social assistance in the form of social grants (Seekings 2007; South Africa, Dept. of Presidency 2011; Lam, Ardington & Leibbrandt 2011).

As the key instrument for human development (Carrim 2006:173), education was characterised by the segregation of schools, education system and departments. Each education system had its own curriculum development and protocol. The segregation of the education system was based on the policy of separate development instituted by the apartheid regime, which argued that the peace, freedom and prosperity of different races in one society could only be achieved through the politics of separation (Mpho 1994:108; Patel 2005:70). The poorly funded Bantu education system (Kimani & Bhorat 2014:2) was characterised by a low curriculum quality and unqualified teachers (Mpho 1994:110; Lam *et al* 2011:122). This education system prepared learners for menial, un/semi-skilled, and inferior positions (Mpho 1994:79, 112; Kimani & Bhorat 2014:02-03).

Despite the democratisation of South Africa in 1994, which emphasised the equality of people in all sectors, including education, the legacy of apartheid still has a negative impact on the quality of education for Blacks, Coloureds and Indians, who experience high levels of dropout and failure (Lam *et al* 2011:123). Figure 1.1 presents the findings of a survey conducted by the University of Cape Town and University of Michigan in 2002 on the percentage of grades failed by learners between 6 and 20 years old according to population groups, namely Blacks, Coloureds and Whites (Lam *et al* 2011).

Figure 1.1 indicates that black and coloured learners have higher rates of grade failure compared to white learners, with African male learners having the highest rate of grade failure.

Figure 1.1: Number of grades failed in South African schools by population group



Source: Lam *et al* (2011)

Social assistance programmes (social grants), which are another instrument for poverty alleviation and human development (Samson 2009:43; DFID 2006), also experienced injustice and inequality under apartheid, with Whites benefitting disproportionately more than others. According to Van Der Berg, Siebrits and Lekezwa (2009:03), the objective of the welfare policy under apartheid was to protect Whites against various contingencies. Table 1.1 shows the percentages of welfare expenditure by the government during the apartheid era from 1950 to 1990.

Table 1.1: Welfare expenditure for the different population groups in South Africa

Population Groups	1950	1976	1990
Whites	61%	56%	23%
Blacks	25%	28%	52%
Coloured/Indians	14%	16%	24%

Source: Patel (2005)

Table 1.1 shows that from 1950 to 1990, social welfare expenditure for Whites gradually decreased, while for Blacks, Coloureds and Indians it gradually

increased. The proportion of government social spending on Blacks doubled over a 14-year period. This situation is essentially due to the political and economic changes that the country was experiencing during the process of democracy (Patel 2005:71).

The unbalanced distribution of the country's resources during the apartheid era in terms of access to adequate education and social assistance programmes negatively affected the human capacity development of many underprivileged races. This resulted in a high rate of unemployment and extreme poverty, including HIV and AIDS, amongst Blacks, Coloureds and Indians (Seekings 2007:15-19; South Africa, Dept. of the Presidency 2011). South Africa is one of the leading countries in the world in terms of the number of people living with HIV, which is estimated to be 7.06 million (Statistics South Africa 2017b:07). Most of the people living with HIV in South Africa are found in urban informal settlements, which are characterised by unemployment, poverty, crime and lack of basic service delivery, such as health facilities and schools (Bezuidenhout 2009:18; Parker & Hajjiannis 2008; Silverman 2005; Richards, O'Leary & Mutsonziwa 2007:383). According to Crush and Frayne (2010:227), the HIV prevalence rate in urban informal settlements of South Africa is twice that of urban formal settlements.

To address the social injustices, inequality and poverty in South Africa, various measures have been adopted by the post-apartheid regime. Amongst these measures was the provision of equal social security for all in the South African Constitution. Section (27) (1) (c) and (2) states that "*everyone has the right to social security, including, if they are unable to support themselves and their dependants, appropriate social assistance.*" Therefore, the South African government needs to take adequate legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to assist in the realisation of these rights (Patel 2005:140; South Africa Constitution 1996). The *White Paper for Social Welfare* sets out an institutional arrangement to support social assistance policies and programmes. This is aimed at improving the living conditions of poor individuals and households, including those affected by HIV and AIDS (Triegaardt 2006).

Currently, South Africa is one of the few countries of the Global South with a well-developed social security system, which is comprised of contributory social insurance, such as provident funds, and non-contributory means-test social assistance or social grants, such as disability and old age grants (Booyesen & Van Der Berg 2005:546; Nattrass 2006). Most of the social assistance programmes offered by the South Africa government are in the form of social grants and in-kind social assistance. Social grants are non-contributable means-test benefits, such as pension grants, child support grants (CSG), and disability grants (DGs). In-kind social assistance includes benefits such as free education, health care, housing (RDP houses), and food assistance (Neves, Samson, van Niekerk, Hlatshwayo & Du Toit 2009; Triegaardt n.d.).

Since 1994, seven social grant programmes, namely old age pensions, CSGs, war veteran grants, foster care grants, DGs, care dependency grants, and grant-in-aid, were introduced by the State to support eligible poor and vulnerable individuals (Phaala 2015). This resulted in an increase in the number of social grant beneficiaries from 2.9 million in 1994 to more than 16 million in 2014, representing 30.2 % of the total population (Act No.108 of 1996; SASSA 2014). The number of CSG beneficiaries increased from 5.7 million in 2004/05 to about 11.9 million in 2014/2015 as a result of the increase in the age of eligibility to 18 years old (South Africa National Treasury 2013; Ferreira 2015).

With the high level of unemployment in South Africa, which is estimated at 27.2% (Statistics South Africa 2018), many poor households, including those affected by HIV and AIDS, rely mostly on government social assistance programmes to meet their basic needs (Potts 2012; South Africa, Dept. of Presidency 2008; Booyesen 2004). It must be borne in mind that social assistance programmes, such as social grants, are mean-test grants subject to suspension or cancellation in cases where the beneficiary fails to meet the grant requirements (SASSA 2013). For example, a person living with HIV/AIDS, in order to qualify for a DG, must have a CD4 count of below 200 cells/mm³ (De Paoli, Grønningsæter & Mills 2010). However, with antiretroviral treatment (ART), many people living with HIV and AIDS have found that their CD4 count increases to above 200 cells/mm³, which automatically results in them losing their DGs.

Once social assistance is suspended or cancelled, many poor households find themselves in a very difficult situation, as they are unable to satisfy their basic needs due to their inability to find a job in South Africa. This is the reason why many poor people living with HIV/AIDS prefer to keep their CD4 count below 200 cells/mm³, by not taking their ARV medication regularly, in order to qualify for DGs (Hardy & Richter 2006).

Furthermore, with the increased number of social grant beneficiaries due to unemployment and the HIV and AIDS epidemic, government spending on social grants increases each year (Patel 2013). Since 1994, there has been an average increase of about 7% annually on social grant expenditure, mostly due to the adjustments to the value of the grants and growth in the number of beneficiaries (South Africa National Treasury 2015:295). It can be argued that social grant provisions occur at the expense of state investment in other important social programmes, such as adult skills development or job creation, which are viewed as strong instruments for poverty alleviation and economic growth (Surrender, Noble, Wright & Ntshongwana 2010; Goko 2013; Reynolds 2012; Kelly 2013). For example, in the 2014-2015 financial year, the government spent more than R 120 billion on social grants, representing 3.4% of the GDP, while only R 3,6 billion was budgeted for job creation in 2014 (South Africa National Treasury 2014 & 2015; Potts 2012:75).

A survey conducted by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) in 2012 showed that South Africa now has one of the largest social protection allowances amongst middle-income countries, with more people receiving social grants than the headcount of employed people. In 1994, there were three times as many people working than those receiving welfare. In 2001, 8% of the population benefited from social grants, and in 2012-2013, this figure increased to 31%. According to Cronje, the CEO of SAIRR, a feasible alternative is job creation (Goko 2013).

In addition, there is a concern regarding the absence of exit social assistance programmes, such as adult skills development, to empower beneficiaries with adequate skills and knowledge to increase their chances in the job market, or in

creating their own businesses (Surrender *et al* 2010; South Africa, Dept. of Social Development 2006). This will assist them to become independent from social grants, and to participate actively in the economic growth of the country (City & Guilds Centre for Skills Development 2010). According to the South African Department of Social Development (DSD 2006), there is a lack of strategies that link social beneficiaries to economic opportunities, which have an impact on the increase in the unemployment rate of able-bodied South Africans. Delegates at the 2007 ANC Conference in Polokwane suggested that “*beyond poverty alleviation, interventions must seek to develop exit programmes that empower households and communities.*” (Surrender *et al* 2010:204)

Regardless of the suggested alternatives, the crux of the argument is that the role of South African social assistance programmes in human capital development and poverty alleviation for its beneficiaries, including poor households affected by HIV and AIDS, remains uncertain. The question here is whether such assistance can afford these beneficiaries a better life, even in the absence of government and civil society social assistance (Pauw & Mncube 2007:10). According to Patel (2005:30), social assistance policies and programmes should have goals that are likely to lead to tangible improvements in people’s lives. Thus, poor households should be able to experience sustainable human capital development and better livelihoods, as well as contributing to the socioeconomic growth of the country. Despite the fact that the goals of the *White Paper for Social Welfare* focus on sustainable human development and wellbeing (White Paper 1997), and that significant progress has been made since 1994, poverty is still widespread. This has forced a steadily increasing number of people to rely on social grants for survival (Lombard, Kemp, Viljoen-Toet & Booyzen 2012:179; South Africa, DSD, SASSA & UNICEF 2011:03).

In the *South African National Development Plan* (South Africa, Dept. of the Presidency 2012:34, 64; Inchauste, Lustig, Maboshe, Purfield & Woolard 2015:2), a number of socioeconomic targets have been identified for 2030. This includes the reduction in the percentage of poor households from 39% to 0%, including those affected by HIV and AIDS, who live on R418 per person. It also

foresees a reduction in the level of inequality from 0.7% in 2009 to 0.6% in 2030. The NDP also aims to reduce the unemployment rate from 24.9 in 2011 to 6% in 2030, with an increase in total employment from 13 million to 24 million.

To cast the achievement of these targets in a wider light, this study analyses the impact of current South African social assistance policies and programmes on the human capacity development of beneficiaries, with a particular focus on households affected by HIV and AIDS. Such case studies will be able to draw conclusions about the feasibility of these targets and identify gaps and shortcomings in human capacity development in these households.

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Since the end of apartheid in 1994, there is a constant increase in number of vulnerable and poor individuals and households including those affected by HIV and AIDS, who rely on social grants to meet their basic needs (Potts 2012; South Africa, Dept. of Presidency 2008; Booysen 2004). Some of them are in the programme for many years unlikely to exit the programme due to the unchanged socioeconomic conditions that they face, such as unemployment and poverty. The growing number of beneficiaries had forced the South African government to increase each year its social spending on social grants programme in the expense of other social economic programmes that are also necessary to fight poverty and boost the country economic growth (Surrender, Noble, Wright & Ntshongwana 2010; Goko 2013; Reynolds 2012; Kelly 2013).

The overarching research problem that guided the study was whether social assistance can impact the human capacity development of its beneficiaries to such an extent that it allows them to acquire the necessary skills to enhance their employability in the labour market, or to enable them to start their own businesses. The researcher investigated this question at the household level, in particular amongst households affected by HIV and AIDS in two large informal settlements in the City of Tshwane. These two settlements are Olievenhoutbosch and Jeffsville, where approximately 90 000 people reside (Frith 2011a; Mulenga, Manase & Fawcett 2004). These two settlements were

chosen due to their closeness of the researcher place of living, and their high level of HIV prevalence, unemployment, poverty and illiteracy (Misago, Monson, Polzer & Landau 2010; Kabanyane 2006; Experience Mission n.d.). Olievenhoutbosch and Jeffsville informal settlements are more discussed in section 5.7 of Chapter Five.

1.4 PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1.4.1 Purpose of the study

The central aim of this study was to analyse the impact of South African social assistance policies and programmes on the human capacity development of its beneficiaries, with a focus on households affected by HIV and AIDS. Households affected by HIV and AIDS and living in informal settlements were selected as research participants, since extreme poverty and unemployment characterise their daily existence. Most of these families are dependent on the government's social grants programme. Biographical profiles of participants, research design, and data collection and analysis are discussed in Chapter Five.

The theoretical framework used in this study is social capital theory and the capability approach. These theoretical viewpoints help to establish a link between capacity improvement and poverty alleviation. The theoretical orientation of this study is discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

1.4.2 Objectives of the study

To achieve the purpose of this study, the following objectives were identified:

- Describing and analysing South African social assistance policies and programmes, and comparing them with policies in other countries (e.g. OECD and BRICS);
- Investigating challenges related to capacity development faced by grant beneficiaries, especially households affected by HIV and AIDS;

- Investigating, within a sample of grant-receiving households, how the money is allocated for various expenses, and how much is available for capacity development;
- Developing a conceptual framework linking human capacity development and social assistance to poverty alleviation, exit from social assistance programmes, and contributions of beneficiaries to economic growth;
- Providing relevant recommendations for an improved South African social assistance system for human capacity development.

1.5 DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study was limited to social assistance in the form of social grants provided by the South African government, under the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA), to a sample of households living in two Pretoria informal settlements, namely Olievenhoutbosch and Jeffsville, who are affected by HIV and AIDS.

1.6 CLARIFICATION OF KEY TERMS

Some of the key terms used in this study are defined in this section. Other important concepts will be explained in subsequent chapters of the thesis.

1.6.1 Social Assistance

According to the Free Dictionary (2018), social assistance refers to the benefits paid to bring incomes in line with the minimum levels established by law. Some scholars have defined social assistance as non-contributory mean-tested (value of individual assets and income) benefits provided by government to poor and vulnerable individuals and households, in order to meet their basic needs, such as education, food, clothing, and shelter (Woolard 2003:01).

In terms of the *South Africa Social Assistance Act* of 2004, social assistance refers to social grants, including social relief of distress. Social grants refer to

CSGs, care dependency grants, foster child grants, DGs, older person grants, and war veteran grants, as well as grant-in-aid (South Africa, DSD 2008). To be eligible for a social grant in South Africa, the income and assets (means-test) of the applicant should fall below a certain threshold. The amount that an individual may receive for a particular social grant is determined by the means-test, and he/she may not necessarily receive the maximum amount offered by SASSA (Kelly 2014). Each social grant policy and programme in South Africa is explained in more detail in Chapter Three of this thesis.

There are two categories of social assistance, namely cash assistance and in-kind assistance. Cash assistance is the transfer of money from a government-funded program or private organisation to an individual, such as an old age grant or welfare cheque. In-kind assistance, on the other hand, is the transfer of a benefit or good to a recipient, and does not involve cash - for example, food parcels, health care, and free education (Grimsley 2016).

Cash assistance or a cash transfer is further divided into two categories: conditional cash transfers and unconditional cash transfers. Conditional cash transfers (CCTs) are those that require certain actions from recipients, such as ensuring that children are attending school on a regular basis. The failure to fulfil these requirements means that the cash assistance application may be refused or suspended, depending on the policies of government or charitable organisations. The conditionality of cash assistance is mostly applied in Latin American countries. Unconditional cash transfers, on the other hand, do not have requirements attached to them, such as old age grants. Unconditional cash assistance is mostly applied in low- and middle-income countries, such as South Africa (Pega, Walter, Liu, Pabayo, Lhachimi & Saith 2014:2-3; Department for International Development 2011:49).

In the context of this study, social assistance refers to financial or cash assistance provided by the government of South Africa through SASSA, in the form of social grants to poor individuals and/or members of households, including those affected by HIV/AIDS. In this study, social assistance does not refer to the in-kind assistance that government or private organisations provide

to poor individuals or families in the form of goods and services, such as food, clothes, shelter, free education and health care. Social assistance concepts and characteristics are explained in more detail in Chapter Two of this thesis.

1.6.2 Capacity development

As with social assistance, many scholars have reached the conclusion that the term “capacity development” is vague, misused and very complex. In addition, its definition depends on the context and perspective from which people and development agencies approach it (Bolger 2000; Ubels, Acquaye-Baddoo & Fowler 2010; Wignaraja 2009; Hite & De Grauwe 2008). According to Hite and De Grauwe (2008:23), the complexity of the concept of capacity development is due to its multifaceted aspect of limited use, making it difficult for governments and agencies to identify the best strategies to overcome various constraints. Furthermore, its success and failure depend on the specific modalities within the national context where these modalities are implemented. Wignaraja (2009) highlights the confusion surrounding the concept of capacity development. He states that some people view capacity development as any effort to teach people to do something better. For some, it is about creating new institutions or improving old ones, while others see it as education and training, or about enhancing individual rights or freedom. Bolger (2000) indicates that there are two main perspectives according to which scholars base their human capacity development definitions. Some scholars regard human capacity development as a process that can alleviate poverty or increase wellbeing, and thus represents an objective for development at the level of the individual or organisation.

Despite this confusion regarding the definition of capacity development, the researcher provides, within the context of this study, some definitions of the term by various scholars and agencies. According to the UNDP (2008a:04), human capacity development is a process that allows individuals, organisations and institutions to improve their abilities to plan and achieve objectives, or to solve problems. At the individual level, human capacity development refers to the skills, experience and knowledge vested in people to facilitate the creation of

personal, social and economic well-being. Naturally, every human being is born with abilities that can help him/her to perform certain tasks or duties at home, in the community, or at the workplace. Some of these abilities are acquired through education, learning and experience (UNDP 2008a:06).

Otoo, Agapitova and Behrens (2009) view human capacity development as a local learning process driven by leaders and other agents of change, which aims to bring about socio-political change and enhance local ownership, in order to achieve a development goal. Bolger (2000) is of the opinion that human capacity development includes various approaches, strategies and methodologies that seek to improve performance at different social levels.

According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD 2006:05), capacity development is the process of strengthening the ability or capacity of individuals, organisations and societies to make effective and efficient use of resources, in order to achieve their own goals on a sustainable basis. Fast Track Initiative (FTI 2008:06) defines capacity development as the ability of people, organisations and societies to manage their affairs successfully.

In this study, human capacity development is defined as the educational and/or training investment provided by government or private agencies to individuals or members of households, in order to help them acquire the necessary skills and knowledge for their wellbeing and the development of the country.

The measurement of human capacity development at household level is broadly based on the impact of educational and/or training investment in household members on the sustainable livelihoods and well-being of the household in terms of income, savings, health, shelter, and other human, financial and physical assets (UNDP 2010; Liu & Fraumeni 2014).

1.6.3 HIV and AIDS

HIV stands for human immunodeficiency virus. HIV is a virus that affects a person's body by destroying specific blood cells, known as CD4 T cells or T cells, which are essential in terms of helping the body to fight disease. HIV can lead to the acquired immune deficiency syndrome, which is commonly known as AIDS (Centres for Disease Control and Prevention 2015).

HIV is found in the bodily fluids of an infected person (semen and vaginal fluids, blood, and breast milk), and it is generally transmitted from one person to another through sexual intercourse, blood-to-blood contact, or from an infected pregnant woman to her baby during pregnancy or childbirth, or as a result of breastfeeding. The most common means of HIV transmission include vaginal sex, oral sex, anal sex, blood transfusion, and contaminated needles (Nordqvist 2016: Van Dyk 2008:34). The most effective ways of preventing HIV transmission are to remain faithful in a relationship with an equally faithful partner, practice safe sex by correctly using male or female condoms, or to practice only non-penetrative sex (WHO 2015).

Currently, there is no effective cure for HIV or AIDS, but with proper medical care and treatments, HIV can be controlled by slowing down the progression of the virus. The most effective treatment for HIV is antiretroviral therapy or ART, which if taken properly on a daily basis can help infected people to live a healthy and long life, with a great chance of not infecting others (CDC 2015; Nordqvist 2016).

1.6.4 Household

The concept of a household is complex, as scholars, government, and development agencies define it differently, based on their fields of expertise and interest. Despite this ambiguity, Beaman and Dillon (2009:02) are of the view that there are three elements of the household concept, namely residency requirements, common food consumption, and common intermingling of income or production decisions.

In simple terms, a household refers to a group of people who live in the same shelter and share meals for at least three months (Oni, Obi, Okorie, Thabede & Jordan 2002). Haviland, Prins, Walrath and McBride (2011:491) define households as *“the basic residential unit where economic production, consumption, inheritance, childrearing, and shelter are organised and carried”*. According to the United Kingdom (UK) government, a household is defined as one person or a group of people who share the same living accommodation, namely a living room or sitting room, and share at least one meal a day (Rowland & Gatward 2003). In the United States of America (USA), according to the U.S. Census Bureau (2010), a household includes all of the persons who occupy a housing unit, such as a house, apartment, mobile home, or group of rooms, as their usual place of residence. In their housing unit, people live and eat separately from others in the building or area of living, and have direct access from outside the building or common hall. The occupants of the housing unit may comprise of a single family, two or more families living together, or any other group of related or unrelated persons who share a living area.

In South Africa, a household is referred to as *“a group of people who live together at least four nights a week, eat together and share resources, or a single person who lives alone”* (Statistics South Africa 2015). According to the United Nations Statistics Division (2014), there are two types of households, namely a one-person household and a multi-person household.

In this study, the term household refers to a person or a group of people living together in the same shelter for more than a year and sharing food and income, and is headed by one person, who coordinates all matters related to the household. A household affected by HIV/AIDS is a household in which breadwinners have died or have chronic illnesses due to HIV/AIDS-related conditions (Oni *et al* 2002).

According to Bollinger and Stover (1999), households affected by HIV and AIDS are characterised by the following:

- Loss of income due to frequent illness or death of household breadwinner;
- High expenditure on medical and funeral costs, which impacts negatively on household savings;
- Children drop out of school to reduce household expenses and/or take care of sick household members.

1.6.5 Informal settlements

According to Statistics South Africa, informal settlements refer to unplanned settlement on *“residential areas that do not comply with local authority requirements for conventional (formal) townships. They are typically unauthorised and invariably located upon land that is not proclaimed for residential use”* (Housing Development Agency 2013:6).

Informal settlements are usually built on the edge of cities, where land is cheap and neglected (Moser & Satterthwaite 2008; Mahanga 2002:35). The urban poor usually make use of salvaged materials such as wood, tins, corrugated iron and others to build these settlements (Tshikotshi 2009:1-2).

These informal settlements or slums are characterised by inadequate access to water or sanitation, poor integrity of the dwelling, overcrowding, and an insecure residential status (UN-HABITAT 2010:6). According to South African Department of Human Settlements, informal settlements are characterised by illegality and informality, unsuitable locations, limited public and private sector investment, poverty, and social stress (Housing Development Agency 2013:6).

Some causes of informal settlements are rural-urban migration, urbanisation, poor housing planning or lack of land and houses built by the state, poverty, politics, high cost of living, growing numbers of people in urban areas, with limited accommodation alternatives, and natural disasters (Luhar 2014; Chiloane-Tsoka & Mmako 2014; Bosman 2014; Mears 2011; Malinga 2000).

The development of informal settlements in South Africa dates back to the 1970s, when the apartheid government was unable to respond to the growing number of poor people who had no housing alternatives. In addition, townships were saturated in terms of backyard structure capacity, and there was an increase in the number of immigrants in urban areas. Other factors included a higher cost of living, exclusionary urban development; an unfair and inequitable land market, and a discriminatory financial system (Chiloane-Tsoka & Mmako 2014:337; Mears 2011:2; Malinga 2000:42-43). Despite the government having provided more than four million three hundred houses (RDP) to poor people since 1994, the number of people living in informal settlements is almost the same (Money web Holdings 2016; Bosworth 2016; Ngonyama 2012:2; Mears 2011:2). This is due to the growing number of migrants to urban areas who are unable to find low-cost accommodation close to their place of work (Money web 2016).

1.6.6 Economic growth and economic development

There is often confusion regarding the concepts of economic growth and economic development. Although, the two terms are used interchangeably and constitute the major goals of most countries of the global south, they are not identical, and their interpretation differs among scholars. According to Nafziger (2012:14), economic growth refers to an increase in a country's production per capita, which is usually measured by Gross National Product (GNP), the total economic output of goods and services. Economic development includes economic growth, complemented by changes in output distribution and economic structure. This change may include an improvement in the material well-being of the poor half of the population.

According to Jain and Malhota (2010), the distinction between economic growth and economic development is based on two dimensions, namely the single dimension and multiple dimensions. Economic growth is single dimension, which is concerned with an increase in national income per capita. Economic development, on the other hand, is multidimensional, and it is concerned with income and structure changes. In economic development, along with the

increase in national income, there is a change in the economic, social and political structure of the economy.

According to Haller (2012:66), economic growth is the process that focuses on the increase in the sizes of national economies and macro-economic indicators, such as GDP per capita, GNP and NI, in an ascending order. This has positive effects on the socioeconomic sector. Furthermore, economic development shows how growth impacts positively on standards of living within society.

Although there are numerous ways of measuring the economic growth or performance of a country, many economists are of the view that the most appropriate tool to measure the economic growth of a country is the GDP. This refers to the total value of goods and services produced in an economy over a certain period (Bouwer n.d.; Ezeala-Harrison 1996:6).

The measurement of the economic development of a country, according to Ezeala-Harrison (1996:14-15), is generally based on indications regarding how the country's population has benefitted from the changes that it brings. The rise of income must be associated with changes in basic living conditions, such as high nutritional and clothing standards, improved housing and health, including health care, low infant mortality rates, and higher literacy rates. The yardstick for measuring the economic development of a country is the Human Development Index (HDI) and the Physical Quality of Life Index (QLI).

1.6.7 Poverty

According to Kraai (n.d.), poverty is a difficult concept to define and measure. Its definition and measurement go beyond semantics and academic quibbling, and are often related to the ideals of a particular society. Therefore, when defining or measuring poverty, it is always important to consider the ideals of the society in which they are applied. However, despite the difficulty in defining and measuring poverty, some scholars have attempted to provide a standard definition and measurement of poverty, based on their own understanding of the concept.

According to the Dictionary.com (2016), *“poverty is the state or condition of having little or no money, goods, or means of support; condition of being poor”*. The Business Dictionary (2016) defines poverty as *“condition where people's basic needs for food, clothing, and shelter are not being met”*. The World Bank simply defines poverty as deprivation of well-being. There is a common view that links well-being to command over commodities, in the sense that the poor are people who do not have enough income or means to put them above some adequate minimum threshold (World Bank Institute 2005:08).

The Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA 2011:14), which focuses on human capability and capacity development, defines poverty as *“a condition where the people are deprived of opportunities to manifest their capabilities to have the basic human life, and in addition, where the people are excluded from the society and development process.”* The Copenhagen Declaration of 1995 sheds more light on the meaning of poverty, by indicating that:

Poverty has various manifestations, including lack of Income and productive resources sufficient to ensure sustainable livelihood; hunger and malnutrition, ill health; limited or lack of access to education and other basic services, increase morbidity and mortality from illness, homelessness and inadequate housing; unsafe environments, social discriminations and exclusion. It is also characterized by a lack of participation in decision and in civil, social and cultural life. (Anger 2010:139)

According to Chambers (2006), there are three main clusters associated with the meaning of poverty, namely lack of income, lack of material possessions, and capability deprivation. In the first cluster of the meaning of poverty, many people, especially economists, perceive poverty as the lack of adequate income, which prevents people from acquiring the material items they need for their survival. The second cluster refers to no or limited wealth, assets, means of transport and communication and poor access to services. The third cluster with regard to the meaning poverty, which is supported by Amartya Sen, is lack or deprivation of capability, for example lack of adequate professional skills, physical abilities, or self-respect in society.

There are generally three types of poverty, namely absolute or extreme poverty, moderate poverty, and relative poverty (Ndlovu, Ndlovu, Makhubedu, Sentime, Maphosa & Mazibuko 2013: 63). Absolute poverty refers to a situation where people or households are unable to meet basic needs for survival, or cannot afford them. These people are characterised by chronic hungry, inability to access health care, lack of access to safe drinking water and sanitation, inability to afford education for their children, and lack of adequate shelter and clothing (Ndlovu *et al* 2013:63; Grant, Vidler & Smith 2005:117). The World Bank considers people who earn less than US\$ 1.25 a day to be absolutely poor (Haughton & Khandor 2009:45). Moderate poverty refers to conditions of life in which people or households meet their basic needs, but only barely, such as having a small house with few rooms. Relative poverty refers to low personal or household income relative to the average national income. These categories of people lack the necessary resources to participate in the normal and desirable patterns of life that exist within a particular society at a given time (Ndlovu *et al* 2016).

Poverty is often measured by the poverty line, which is determined by a standard of income or consumption. People whose income is lower than the income standard, or whose consumption is below the consumption standard, are classified as poor (Yan 2016:91).

The National Institute of Statistics (Instituto Nacional de Estadística n.d.) suggests three forms of poverty measurement, namely absolute poverty lines, relative poverty lines, and subjective poverty lines. Absolute poverty lines refer to the minimum resources required for an individual to live a better life. The aim of the absolute poverty lines is to measure the cost involved in acquiring goods and services, which assist a person to satisfy his/her basic needs (INE n.d.:05).

Relative poverty lines distinguish people in society from who are considered as poor or most disadvantaged, and the rest. Indicators most used in relative poverty lines include monetary variables such as income or cost. In both cases, a minimum variable level, such as income, is used, in order to differentiate between the poor and not poor.

People under the minimum standard are considered to be poor or most disadvantaged, and those above it are not poor (INE n.d.:06).

Subjective poverty lines refer to the opinion that individuals or households have of themselves in relation to society as a whole. In other words, the concept of poverty used in these lines refers to the separation of population into poor and not poor based on the personal opinion of households and individuals in terms of what it means to be poor (INE n.d.:19).

There are different approaches that are used to address poverty, such as poverty relief, poverty alleviation, poverty reduction and poverty eradication (Kraai n.d.). Poverty relief refers to policies and interventions that seek to give short-term assistance to a person or household who is living in poverty, or faces some external shock that causes them to be more vulnerable than before. In South Africa, poverty relief is part of the social relief of distress grants programme, which provides temporary financial assistance to people with urgent needs (SASSA 2012b; Samson, MacQuene & van Niekerk 2005). Examples of these programmes include cash transfers, food parcels, and drought or flood relief (Kraai n.d.:2; SASSA 2012b; Samson *et al* 2005).

Poverty alleviation, which was proposed by the Swedish scholar Gunnar Myrdal, focuses on alleviating the degree of poverty and employing poverty mitigation and alleviation measures (Yan 2016:93). Adongo and Deen-Swararray (2006:1) define poverty alleviation as a process of reducing the fluctuation of income levels between poor and non-poor scenarios. According to Kraai (n.d:2), the main aim of poverty alleviation is to reduce the negative impact of poverty on the lives of poor people, including households. It is part of government and private organisations' welfare programmes, such as social grants, which alleviate the impact of poverty for many people and households. According to JICA (2011:14), the purpose of poverty alleviation is *“to raise people out of poverty by strengthening economic, human, protective, political and socio-cultural abilities that impoverished people have, and to create an environment wherein people can manifest such capabilities”*.

Poverty reduction, which is often confused with poverty alleviation, refers, according to Kraai (n.d.), to strategies and policies that are applied by states and development agencies, in order to reduce the number or percentage of people or households living in poverty, or the severity of the impact of poverty on the lives of poor people or households. Adongo and Deen-Swararay (2006:1) argue that poverty reduction is the process of permanently moving people or households from a poor to a non-poor status. Poverty eradication simply refers to the process of putting an end to poverty (Kraai n.d.).

1.7 IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

In light of the fact that the South African government spends billions of rands each year on its social assistance programme for vulnerable people, whose numbers increase on a daily basis, this study attempted to investigate whether the social assistance received by beneficiaries assists them to develop their human capacity. This is in order to improve their educational status, which will assist them to secure better jobs or run their own businesses successfully, improve their living conditions, exit from social assistance programmes, and contribute to the economic development of the country. The contribution of this study to the academic body of knowledge is explained in Chapter 8, Section 8.8.

1.8 CHAPTER LAYOUT

Chapter One is an introductory chapter in which the researcher provides a background to the developmental perspective of the social assistance system in South Africa and internationally, as well as human capacity development, and the state of HIV and AIDS globally and in South Africa. The problem statement, objectives of the study, clarification of key terms, delimitation of the study, methodology, chapter layout, and conclusion are included in this chapter. In Chapter Two the researcher presents a literature review on social assistance concepts and models, as well as human capacity development and its link to social assistance, poverty alleviation, and economic growth. In this chapter the researcher discusses social security systems in the world, with a focus on some OECD and BRICS countries, with the exception of South Africa.

In Chapter Three the researcher presents a literature review on different social assistance and capacity development policies and programmes in South Africa. This review looks at the impact of social assistance on poverty alleviation and the dependency culture in South Africa, level of state expenditure on social assistance, and gaps in the social assistance system in South Africa. The chapter ends with a discussion on capacity development policies and programmes in South Africa, and looks at the relationship between skills development, economic employment and economic growth in South Africa. Chapter Four is a focus on the theoretical framework of this study, namely social capital theory and the capability approach. In Chapter Five the researcher discusses the research methodology of this study and gives details on the chosen qualitative research design, specific case study method, sampling techniques, data collection methods, data analysis, and ethical considerations in this study.

In Chapter Six the first part of the findings of this study, can be seen which includes the list of themes and categories that emerged in the study, as well as a discussion on the understanding and application of, and dependency on, social grants by South African households affected by HIV and AIDS. This includes a discussion on social grant beneficiaries' perceptions of education with regard to poverty alleviation. The chapter ends with a discussion on the roles played by South African non-profit organisations and public institutions in relation to social grant beneficiaries' human capacity development, poverty alleviation, and exit from social grant programmes.

Chapter Seven is where the researcher presents the second part of the findings of this study, which includes the challenges faced by social grant beneficiaries in meeting their basic and human capacity development needs. It includes suggestions made by research participants on how government can improve the social grant programme. The chapter ends with the presentation of the conceptual framework that links social assistance to human capacity development. Chapter Eight is the conclusion of this study, including the summary of the findings and recommendations.

1.9 CONCLUSION

In this introductory chapter, the researcher provided a general perspective on the impact of South African social assistance policies and programmes on the capacity development of beneficiaries, with a focus on households affected by HIV and AIDS. The chapter discussed the delimitation of the study, which focused on the South African social grants provided by SASSA to households affected by HIV and AIDS living in Pretoria informal settlements, namely Olievenhoutbosch and Jeffsville. The key terms used in this study, such as social assistance, capacity development, HIV and AIDS, household, informal settlements, economic growth and economic development, and poverty, were clarified. In conclusion, the chapter presented an outline of the study, which consists of eight chapters.

In the next chapter the researcher presents a literature review on social assistance and human capacity development, and social security systems in OECD and BRICS countries, with the exception of South Africa.

CHAPTER 2: GLOBAL SOCIAL ASSISTANCE AND HUMAN CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, a nexus of themes related to the research topic is discussed, namely social assistance and human capacity development. The discussion is intended to highlight the impact that social assistance policies and programmes have on the human capacity development of beneficiaries throughout the world, especially in OECD and BRICS countries, with the exception of South Africa.

In order to discuss the above, this chapter is divided into three main sections: The first section deals with social assistance, where an overview and history of social assistance are provided, followed by social assistance models, including residual and institution concepts, universal and relative provision, and the three models of capitalism. The second section deals with human capacity development, which includes an overview of human capacity development, the capacity development process, and the links between social assistance and human capacity development, human capacity development and poverty alleviation, and human capacity development and economic growth. In the third section the researcher discusses several social security systems in the world, with a focus on OECD and BRICS countries, with the exception of South Africa.

2.2 SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

2.2.1 Overview of social assistance

The term “social assistance”, which is sometimes called “cash transfer net”, “social welfare” or “social safety net”, depending on the welfare system of each country, is frequently used by European and African countries, including South Africa. North American countries such as the United States and Canada prefer to use the term “social welfare”, while South American countries such as Brazil use “cash transfer”. However, in global discourse, “social safety-net” is the most

commonly used term. Although these terms have specific connotations, they all focus on the eradication of poverty among the needy population (Bahle, Pfeifer & Wendt 2010: 448; Arnold, Conway & Greenslade 2011; Künnemann & Leonhard 2008).

Many scholars have the view that social assistance, in the broad sense, cannot be functionally defined due to its subjective nature. This is because it does not cover a specific risk, purpose, or target group, whereas the function of minimum income is preventing poverty (Bahle, Pfeifer & Wendt 2010: 449; Midgley 1997: 05). Despite this difficulty, some scholars consider social assistance as the means-test non-contributory benefits provided by the state to vulnerable people, who are unable to provide for their own minimum needs (South Africa, DSD 2008, Pauw & Mncube 2007:3).

Social assistance policies and programmes in general provide various developmental benefits to the beneficiaries, including immediate poverty alleviation and human development through stimulating investments in health, education and nutrition. They ensure economic productivity and growth, empowerment, and social cohesion of the beneficiaries (Arnold *et al*/2011; Todd & V´elez-Grajales 2010; Samson 2009). The main aim is to provide recipients with human dignity, and if possible, enable them to live independently from this kind of help in the future (Federal Health Monitoring 2015).

According to Samson (2009), social assistance contributes to poverty alleviation in three main ways. Firstly, it directly protects consumption and enables households to cope with shocks and chronic poverty more effectively. Secondly, it mitigates the most negative consequences of high-risk investments, and promotes activities that are more productive. Thirdly, it helps to eliminate poverty traps through investment in people’s health, nutrition and education. Midgley (1997) argues that social assistance, which can be applied to individuals, families, communities, and society for their wellbeing, exists on three different levels, namely social problems, social needs, and social opportunities, which need to be well managed and addressed. Social problems may include conflicts, crimes and unemployment experienced by individuals, families, communities

and society. Social needs include basic biological survival, such as nutrition, safe drinking water, shelter, and personal safety. Lastly, social opportunities include government or society's enhancement of educational programmes, job opportunities, and other means by which people can advance and realise their potential. When all three dimensions are considered, it may be claimed that individuals, families, communities or society enjoy a satisfactory level of welfare or social assistance.

Social assistance programmes in certain countries, such as Great Britain, Sweden and South Africa, are often part of the social security programme, which consists of public and private measures that provide cash and/or in-kind benefits to individuals who face financial problems, in order to meet their basic needs and maintain their children (South Africa White Paper 1997; Haarmann 2000:22). In South Africa, social security comprises personal savings, social assurance, social assistance and social relief. Personal or private savings are used by individuals to make their own provisions in case of loss of income or personal investment. Social insurance includes joint contributions by employers and employees, for examples, pension or provident funds. Social assistance, as described above, is a non-contributory means-tested income in the form of grants to the most vulnerable members of society, including the aged, persons with disabilities, and children. Lastly, social relief is emergency contributions during crisis or difficult situations (Plagerson & Ulriksen 2016:464-465; Black Sash 2010:13-14). In other countries such as the United States, social security only includes insurance-funded retirement, invalidity and survivor's benefits. Social assistance and unemployment benefits are not provided under this legislation, and are not classified as social security. In some Latin American countries, social security comprises vocational training, youth activities and recreational and cultural programmes (Midgley 1996:02-03).

2.2.2 A brief history of social assistance

Although poverty has existed since time immemorial, it was not viewed as a social problem that needed government intervention. The relief of poverty was mostly the duty of family, clans, trade guilds and/or religious philanthropists

(Kuhnle & Sander 2010; Haarmann 2000). The social aspect of poverty was only emphasised by government until the sixteenth century, when the British Act of 1531 concerning punishment of beggars and vagabonds was introduced, in order to differentiate between the deserving and undeserving poor (Kuhnle & Sander 2010). However, it is the Elizabethan Poor Law, enacted in England in 1601, which is often cited as the turning point for the involvement of governments in social assistance matters. The Parishes administered Elizabethan poor relief mainly to individuals without relatives to take care of them or who were regarded as deserving of aid (Kuhnle & Sander 2010; Midgley & Tang 2008: 24-25; Haarmann 2000). This was informed by religious philanthropy and charity based on income or means tests. It undergirded many social assistance programmes (Midgley & Tang 2008: 24-25).

The rise of industrialisation and capitalism in the nineteenth century, which involved the re-organisation of productive activity and commodification of labour, made many families dependent on wages. Unemployment, illness and work injuries lead to impoverishment (Patel 2005:22; Haarman 2000). This gave rise to the development of assurance schemes by mutual aid and cooperative societies, which provided support for illness, funerals and widows with children. State involvement in social assurance schemes was introduced between 1881 and 1889 by the German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, and was emulated across Europe and Britain in later years. The scheme protected certain categories of workers against loss of income (Haarman 2000).

During and immediately after World War II in the 1940s, there was another significant emergence of social assistance or the welfare state, which coincided with the years of economic recovery from the Great Depression, and major policy reforms. It represented a definitive break with previous welfare provision in terms of the underlying principle of social rights to income and welfare, independently of the market (Nullmeier & Kaufmann 2010: 82-85; Cook 2006). During that time, the welfare state principle considered that the government alone could assume responsibility for the well-being of the population and for maintaining a decent minimum standard of living for all citizens. Governments increasingly involved themselves in the socioeconomic affairs of citizens with

accompanying increases in social expenditure (Nullmeier & Kaufmann 2010: 82-85; Haarman 2000).

From the middle of 1970s, rising oil prices, declining growth rates, increasing unemployment and population ageing placed strain on the long-term fiscal viability of the social security. It was argued that markets can better deal with social security concerns than states (Haarman 2000).

2.2.3 Social assistance models

Social scholars or scientists have, over the years, progressively grouped or classified various social assistance systems based on the typology or common features that they share. The grouping of social assistance models is often based on three common features, namely residual and institutional concepts, universal and selective provisions, and the three worlds of welfare capitalism. The scientists who are part of the grouping of these social assistance models include Wilensky, Lebeaux, Titmuss, and Gosta Esping-Andersen (Midgley 1997).

2.2.3.1 *Residual and institutional concepts*

Residual and institutional concepts were conceived in the 1960s by social scientists Wilensky and Lebeaux, and are regarded as the first and perhaps most important typology of social welfare in the world, especially with regard to the United States' social welfare policy (Midgley 1997:93). Wilensky and Lebeaux suggest that public social welfare services should assist people in need only when the normal structures of supply, such as the family, community networks and the market, break down. In this approach, there is minimal state intervention in the provision and financing of social assistance for short-term emergencies, and it should tide people over a crisis period, ceasing once the crisis is over. In addition, the eligibility for services and benefits is based on a means-test, which uses a formula that sets minimum criteria for determining a person's eligibility (Segal 2013:07; Patel 2005:24-25; Midgley 1997:93).

According to Patel (2005:22), the residual concept is largely associated with the philosophy of conservatism, which upholds the idea that individuals are responsible for meeting their human needs. The conservatives hold the view that social welfare should be privatised, whereby people have to pay for their own social services. Furthermore, the public expenditure on social assistance should be redirected towards productive expenditure, in order to promote economic growth and employment. This will prevent people from becoming dependent on social assistance benefits, which result in more problems than solutions (Patel 2005: 26).

With regard to the institutional concept, Wilensky and Lebeaux suggest that social assistance services should be institutionalised and regarded as a normal first-line function of industrial countries, which caters for the population as a whole (Patel 2005:22; Midgley 1997:93). This view is supported by Segal (2013:07), who is in favour of social welfare programmes being part of a preventive effort built into the social system. He added that due to the constant complexities of modern life, it is normal for individuals to require the assistance of social institutions. Furthermore, many institutionalists have the view that government agencies are the best deliverers of social assistance policies, and therefore, access to social assistance and social rights should be institutionalised through legislation, fiscal measures, state regulations and comprehensive services (Patel 2005:23). Other requirements of the institutional concept include the responsibility of the state to have job creation and unemployment reduction policies in place, as well as social assistance programmes for the public, such as child grants and DGs.

2.2.3.2 Universal and selective provisions

The universal and selective provisions approach was conceived by the social scientist Titmuss in the 1970s, who, unlike Wilensky and Lebeaux, who focus their social welfare typology only on the United States welfare system, uses it to classify different countries (Midgley 1997:93). His

universal-selective approach is very similar to Wilensky and Lebeaux's approach, but he uses it to compare industrial countries' social assistance models. By comparing the United States and British social assistance systems, he argues that the United States social assistance system is residual or selective, while the British social assistance system is institutional or universal. He believes that the Scandinavian countries are also more in favour of the institutional (universal) social assistance approach (Midgley 1997:93). Social scientists such as Segal, Bleau and Abramovitz attempted to highlight the difference between universal and selective provisions in the social assistance perspective. According to them, universal provision provides benefits to all members of the society, individuals and families, regardless of their income or means. On the other hand, selective provision is designed for the poor, who are incapable of providing for themselves (Segal 2016:07; Blau & Abramovits 2010: 30).

The advantage of the universal approach is that everyone is entitled to the benefits, which may help to prevent some social problems. However, the main disadvantage of this approach is that it is very costly for the government to provide the service or benefit to the whole population, especially since there are some people who have sufficient financial means, and who may therefore not need the service or benefit, but receive it anyway. Some of the examples of the social assistance universal approach are public education and health, as well as fire and police protection, which are available to all regardless of income (Segal 2016:07-08).

The advantage of the social welfare selective approach is that it is less costly to the government, because it covers only the neediest people and households, which means that those who do not meet the pre-determined criteria will not receive anything. Its disadvantage is the stigma attached to the recipients, who are sometimes viewed as being lazy, and the benefits can be too narrow to cover the basic needs for survival. Some of the examples of the social welfare selective approach are cash social

assistance, such as CSGs, old age grants, and DGs (Segal 2016:07-08; Patel 2005).

2.2.3.3 *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*

The three worlds of welfare capitalism, formulated by the Danish sociologist Gøsta Esping-Andersen, is one of the most frequently cited social assistance typologies in the world, due to its sophisticated empirical-theoretical study, in comparison with other social welfare scholars (Arts & Gelissen 2010:571; Bambra 2007:1098; Midgley 1997:94). In his book entitled “*The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*”, Esping-Andersen argues that most studies on state welfare are approached from either a narrow or a broad perspective. Those who approach the welfare state narrowly see it in terms of social amelioration, such as cash transfer, social services, health care, and housing. Those who approach the welfare state broadly, on the other hand, see it in terms of political and economic aspects, focusing more on issues such as employment, wages, and macro-economics, which are more closely related to the “Keynesian welfare state¹” or “welfare capitalism²” (Esping-Andersen 1990:01-02).

Esping-Andersen used the broad approach of the welfare state, focusing on welfare capitalism. In his approach, he identified three main social assistance models used by capitalist countries, namely “Liberal”, “Conservative”, and “Social Democracy”. This grouping is based on three main concepts, namely decommodification, social stratification, and public-private mix (Petring, Dahm, Gombert, Krell & Rixen 2012:36; Arts & Gelissen 2010:570; Schildt 2010:02; Esping-Endersen 2000:157-161; Esping-Andersen 1999). According to Esping-Andersen (in Sainsbury

¹A type of social welfare conceived by the British political economist John Maynard Keynes, which supports full employment through the provided public infrastructure, in order to support mass production and consumption, and ensure mass consumption through collective bargaining and the expansion of welfare rights (Jones at al 2015:53).

²Welfare capitalism entails policies that cover health and safety, social security, healthcare and collective bargaining. It commenced in the Industrial Revolution and was implemented in Britain for factory workers. This is still the dominant mode in Northern and Continental Europe (Investopedia 2016a).

2012:114), “*decommodification occurs when a service is rendered as a right, when rights are not granted strictly on the basis of performance, and when a person can maintain a livelihood without reliance on the market.*” He argues that capitalism turns labour into a commodity, where people sell their labour in the market to survive. He believes that the decommodification of labour constitutes an important criterion for determining the extent to which government is able to meet the social needs of their citizens. In countries such as Sweden, where decommodification of social welfare is mostly used, people are no longer dependent on selling their labour to survive (Esping-Andersen 2000:157; Midgley 1997:94).

Stratification describes a society’s social level or social class. Social science scholars often use this concept to describe and explore different social groups. Depending on what the focus is, some people refer to social groups in terms of strata, such as lower stratum, middle stratum, and upper stratum, while others use classes such as working class and capitalists, and others use milieus, such as Liberal-Protestant milieu, social democratic milieu, and Catholic milieu (Petring *et al* 2012:36). According to Esping-Andersen (2000:159), the welfare state is not just a mechanism that intervenes or corrects the structure of inequality in a society - rather, in its own right, it is a system of stratification and an active force that orders social relations. Lastly, the public-private mix welfare principal is related to roles that the state, market or private sector, as well as the voluntary sector, play in different welfare regimes (Schildt 2010:02; Esping-Andersen 1990:79-82).

The liberal or Anglo-Saxon model is a type of welfare state in which the market plays an important role, as people depend on selling their labour in the market to survive. The state provides minimal social assistance that is limited to the safety net. Recipients are usually means-tested and receive modest universal transfers or social insurance. The beneficiaries are mainly people of low income, usually the working class, and people who are dependent on state funds for survival (Petring *et al* 2012:36; Arts

& Gelissen 2010:571; Bambra 2007:1097; Esping-Andersen 2000:162). The consequence of this liberal welfare model is that commodification effects are minimised, despite the fact that it encompasses the realm of social rights and establishes an order of stratification. This type of model is primarily used in countries such as the USA, Canada, Australia and South Africa (Esping-Andersen 2000:162). The social provision funding of this model is through taxation, but individuals who are entitled to this social benefit normally do not contribute. The level of social security provision is relatively uniform, because of the lack of contribution-related provisions (Petring *et al* 2012:36).

The conservative model, which is also known as the corporatist welfare state, is a type of social welfare where the role of the state is limited, with a moderate degree of decommodification. The model emphasises the importance of traditional structures and institutions that come between the state and the individual, such as family, community networks, and churches. According to this model, families and local institutions are primarily responsible for shielding individuals from the insecurity of the market, and the state should intervene only as a last resort (Bowman 2014:17-18; Petring *et al* 2012:37-38; Arts & Gelissen 2010: 57; Esping-Andersen 2000:162).

Another aspect of the conservative model is the idea of “solidarity” being manifested in the collaboration and cooperation between social classes. Unlike the socialists’ conception that the interests of employees and employers are often opposed, and that the role of state is to boost the political strength of workers, the conservatives have the view that each class has a particular role to play, and that society works best when different social classes work together for the greater good. A good example is German health insurance, which is part of the country’s public programmes, and is jointly administered by employees and employers’ representatives (Bowman 2014:19). The funding in this model is largely through contributions, and the social provision benefits are based on the individual contribution level. This means that the more a person

contributes to his/her pension insurance, the more he/she will benefit from social provision (Petring 2012:38). This model is characterised by a tax incentive that joints spousal tax declaration, a lack of infrastructure for all-day childcare, and the unfamiliarity of a mother role model, which results in a low employment rate among women, in comparison to other social welfare models. Therefore, stratification is deeper in this social welfare model in terms of occupational group, income and gender. This type of social welfare model is mostly used by European countries such as Germany, France, Austria and Italy (Esping-Andersen 2000:162).

The social democratic or Scandinavian model, which is partly a legacy of the socialist movement that opposes capitalism, is a social welfare regime that is manifested by a high level of universalism and de-commodification of social rights, with strong state intervention (Bowman 2014:12-13; Arts & Gelissen 2010:571; Esping-Andersen 2000:162-163). This model promotes equality of the highest standard and not of basic needs. Services and benefits are upgraded commensurately to all class levels, and workers are guaranteed full participation in the quality of rights enjoyed by those who are better off than they are (Esping-Andersen 2000:163). This social welfare is usually funded through general taxation, rather than employees' contributions. The consequences of this model are, firstly, that reconciliation between work and family is ensured, especially for women, who receive a high quality of benefits in terms of employment, child support and other types of social care. Secondly, the state employs more people and exercises a direct influence on the employment situation and the quality of child and other care, which results in a low poverty rate among single parents. The main countries that use this model include Norway, Sweden and Denmark (Petring *et al* 2012:39).

Although the Esping-Andersen social welfare typology is the most frequently cited social welfare typology among scholars, it has received a lot of criticisms. These criticisms are mostly centred on three aspects:

theoretical, methodological and empirical (Bambra 2007:1098; Arts & Gelissen 2010:572-577; Schildt 2010:03; Ferrera 2010:616-617).

Theoretically, the Esping-Andersen typology is only based on 18 countries, which are all from the OECD. Esping-Andersen was criticised for not taking the social welfare typology of developing and poor countries into account, as well as the gender dimension in social policy. He was criticised for the misspecification of the Mediterranean welfare, the labelling of the welfare of antipodean countries, such as Australia and New Zealand, as a liberal welfare state model, and the lack of recognition of employers' important contributions to welfare state development (Arts & Gelissen 2010:572-574; Schildt 2010:3; Bambra 2007:1100).

Esping-Andersen and other early social scientists did not include developing countries in their studies, despite the introduction of different social policies by many developing countries in the early and middle twentieth century (Mares & Carnes 2009; Wood 2006). According to Mares and Carnes (2009:94-95), there are four main reasons why Esping-Andersen and other early social scientists did not include developing countries' social welfare in their typology. Firstly, there is a lack of basic descriptive data regarding the cross-national and temporal variation in the level of social assistance in many developing countries' social welfare systems. Most of these countries are unable to provide reliable data with regard to the implementation, scope of coverage, and level of benefits of their social policies. Secondly, there is an absence of systematic cross-national and temporal data related to the design and implementation of social policies, which hinders the understanding of the impact of social policies on economic markets, such as the level of employment and economic growth. Thirdly, in many developing countries, despite the implementation of remarkable social policy reforms in recent decades, the direction of these changes is still difficult to understand. Lastly, the empirical bias characterising the existing literature on social policies in the world forced Esping-Andersen and other

social scientists to limit their studies to 14-18 OECD countries, which have social policies that are highly correlated with each other.

With regard to the gender dimension, many feminist scholars are concerned about the absence in Esping-Andersen's typology of gender equality and inequality in paid and unpaid work, especially in care and domestic occupations. They question whether social welfare decommodification fits into the gender debate, since employment demand is part of women's citizen rights (Arts & Gelissen 2010:572-573).

In terms of Mediterranean countries' misspecification, Arts and Gelissen (2010:573), citing Bonoli; Ferrera; and Leibfried, criticise Esping-Andersen, who only dealt with Italy and classified it as a conservative welfare state. He was not sure whether other Mediterranean countries such as Greece, Spain and Portugal were conservative welfare state countries, or had a genuine welfare state. Countries, such as Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal, have common institutional traits in their social welfare regimes. Their social welfare regimes are described as "budding" or "rudimentary" welfare states, which are characterised by a high degree of fragmentation of social security, a healthcare system that provides limited and partial coverage, and a high reliance on family and the voluntary sector. Therefore, they suggest grouping them together as another welfare state group named "Mediterranean welfare state" or "The South European Countries welfare state" (Arts & Gelissen 2010:573; Ferrera 2010:616; Schildt 2010:03; Bamba 2007:1100).

With regard to antipodean countries like Australia and New Zealand, Esping-Andersen views them as liberal welfare state regimes due to their managerial commitment to public welfare, and their strong emphasis on means-testing (De Frel 2009:13; Arts & Gelissen 2010:573). This typology was criticised by Arts and Gellissen (2010:573), citing Castles and Mitchell, who indicated that although Australia and New Zealand emphasise the means-test, they use a distinctive and inclusive welfare state approach that is different to other liberal welfare regimes. According

to them, Australia and New Zealand, including the UK, provide mean-test income support benefits built on a substratum of “*social policy by other means*”, which is characterised by low expenditure combined with a high level of equality redistribution. In this social welfare regime, the redistribution is pursued through wage controls and employment security, instead of social programmes (Ebbinghaus 2012:5; Arts & Gellissen 2010:573; Bamba 2007:1100). Therefore, based on the distinctive typology of social welfare used by the above three countries, Castles and Mitchell suggest a fourth social welfare typology known as “Radicalism” or the “Radical wage earners regime” (Schelkle 2012:12; Ebbinghaus 2012:05; Bamba 2007:1100).

In terms of the failure to recognise the important contribution of employers to welfare state development, Arts and Geliisen (2010:574), citing Hall and Soskice, indicate that in the new century, production in the market economy takes place in liberal or coordinated institutional settings. They argue that as employers often need specific skills to maximise their production, employees play a more important role in welfare state development than Esping-Andersen had assumed. Through investments in the training and capacity building of their employees and other people to improve their skills, employers reduce the need for a higher level of social protection.

Methodologically, the Esping-Andersen typology has been criticised by many social policy scholars, who questioned the validity and reliability of parts of his analysis, which is based on data that is not publicly available and difficult to replicate (Arts & Gelisssen 2010; Bamba 2007). According to Bamba (2007:1100), Esping-Andersen’s welfare state regime classification is only based on decommodification indexes, reliance upon social average, and use of the means-test, which only highlights three social welfare classifications, namely social democratic, liberal and conservative. This makes it difficult to accurately classify certain countries such as the UK, Australia, New Zealand and Japan, which use distinctive social welfare approaches that do not fit into Esping-Andersen’s typology.

This concern has led other social policy scholars to use more robust and reliable methodologies that challenge Esping-Andersen's threefold typology, by adding other types of welfare states (Bambra 2007:1100). Shalev (2007:289) argues that Esping-Andersen's first technique, which is "tabular analysis", is very soft, in the sense that it relies more on his own judgment, both in the construction of indices and country cluster identification, without a systematic test to check if the ensemble of indicators do belong together. Furthermore, he indicates that the second technique used by Esping-Andersen, namely "regression analysis", is basically in conflict with its analytical premises.

The empirical validity or evidence of Esping-Andersen's "*The three worlds of welfare capitalism*" typology is questionable. Bambra (2007:1101) argues that the recent attempts by some scholars to replicate the study of Esping-Andersen produced different results from the original. In addition, it has been found that the miscalculation of the mean-test and standard deviation based on Esping-Andersen's three-fold welfare state classification data, led to the misclassification of certain countries, such as the UK, Ireland and Japan. Furthermore, the analysis of decommodification based on data from 18 OECD countries, shows that over the years, there has been a significant change in their welfare state relationship resulting in the extension of welfare state regime types to four or five (Arts & Gelissen 2010:577; Bambra 2007:577). Arts and Gelissen (2010:577), citing Kasza, add that although many analyses support the Esping-Andersen assumption that the 18 OECD countries' welfare states come close to his threefold welfare classification, there are in fact no pure cases, since each country has a different welfare state approach.

2.3 HUMAN CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT

2.3.1 Overview of human capacity development

Human capacity development, which is defined in detail in chapter one, constitutes an important tool for the achievement of development goals (UNDP 2008b). To effectively achieve human capacity development goals, financial and official development assistance need to be supported by strategies, policies, laws and procedures, well-functioning organisations, and educated and skilled people (Austrian Development Agency 2011; UNDP 2008b:02). According to Otoo, Agapitova and Behrens (2009:11), the achievement of development goals is based on three capacity factors, namely the conduciveness of the socio-political environment, the efficiency of policy instruments, and the effectiveness of organisational arrangements. The conduciveness of the socio-political environment is made up of political and social forces such as government, private sector, and civil society, and determines the priority given to the development goal. The efficiency of policy instruments such as rules, laws, regulations, and standards used to guide stakeholder actions towards achievement of the development goals. The effectiveness of organisational arrangements, or the systems, rules of action, processes, personnel, and other resources that government and non-government stakeholders combine to achieve development goals.

Since the end of the Second World War, capacity development has been the centrepiece of international development assistance (Jypsai Community Development 2015). This was influenced by the roles played by the US government in the Marshall Plan, in order to assist in the reconstruction of Western European countries' economies, which were seriously affected by the Second World War. This includes the loss of millions of people's lives, which had a detrimental impact on human capital and the labour market (Jypsai Community Development 2015; Marshall Foundation n.d.). The assistance was estimated to be US \$ 12 billion (about US \$ 120 billion in June 2016), and was mostly directed towards administrative and technical assistance projects (Marshall Foundation n.d.).

Scholars have approached the capacity development concept differently over the years, since the end of the Second World War. Between the 1960s and 1970s, capacity development focused more on individuals, by providing them

with training and skills development, as well as administrative and technical assistance to fill the capacity gaps caused by the Second World War. By the end of the 1970s, it was determined that the approach did not improve human capacity in any significant way (DFID 2002:01).

In the 1980s, the focus of capacity development had shifted to the organisation, suggesting that it has an important role to play in capacitating individual skills and competences for their development. This resulted in the restructuring and redesign of organisations in terms of policy-making, human resources and financial management, as well as the way in which services are delivered. Despite the shift to the organisation yielding encouraging results, especially in some developed countries, the majority of organisations in the world, especially developing countries, remained stubbornly unreformed in terms of the achievement of capacity development objectives (DFID 2002:01-02).

Although the focus of capacity development on individuals and organisations was important, many social scientists and development institutions realised that it was still insufficient to meet capacity development goals and objectives. In the 1990s, it was suggested that the attainment of capacity development goals and objectives requires not only individual training and an organisation with well-structured and good management, but also institutional change and reforms. These institutions are both formal and informal, with formal institutions dealing with a country's law and regulations, and the relationship between the executive and the legislative, while informal institutions deal with norms and values that influence people's behaviour (DFID 2002:02).

This progression of the capacity development approach led to the establishment of three interdependent levels of capacity development, namely the enabling environment, the organisational level, and the individual level (Commonwealth Foundation 2014; UNDP 2008a; Bolger 2000). The enabling environment for development processes sets the legislation, policies, power relations, rules and social norms that determine agendas and actions across different parts of society (UNDP 2008a:5-6; Bolger 2000:3).

The organisational level of capacity are the arrangements, frameworks and policies that govern the operation of organisations so that individual capacities work together to achieve goals (UNDP 2008a:6). Interventions at this level would establish synergies among organisations, and in turn change the enabling environment in favour of integration and the establishment of networks (Bolger 2000:3-4).

At the individual level, capacity refers to the experiences, knowledge and skills of people that collectively realise development objectives (UNDP 2008a:6; Bolger 2000:4). According to Bolger (2000:5), capacity development at this level should be regarded as “*part of a broader framework, by giving attention to organisational issues, broader processes of empowering, or relevant factors in the enabling environment.*”

2.3.2 Capacity development process

The attainment of capacity development goals and objectives is a process that takes place over time and involves steps that need to be followed. These steps include engagement with stakeholders; assessment of capacity assets and needs; formulation of a capacity development programme; implementation of a capacity development response; and evaluation of capacity development (Commonwealth Foundation 2014; UNDP 2009; UNDP 2008a; Otoo *et al* 2009).

2.3.2.1 *Engagement with stakeholders*

The first step in capacity development is to make people who stand to benefit from enhancing capacity talk and listen to each other. The aim is to give ownership to the beneficiaries, by allowing them to participate in the design and methods of the process. This step establishes the accountability of stakeholders, such as who will do what, who will make sure that things are done properly, and what the consequences will be if things are not done correctly. Poverty alleviation or a national development plan can be the starting point of the dialogue between stakeholders in capacity development, in order to achieve the planned

goals and objectives. The external partners can help to facilitate the dialogue between stakeholders, but should avoid imposing parallel systems that may destabilise the local system (Otoo *et al* 2009:6; UNDP 2008a:9).

2.3.2.2 *Assessment of capacity assets and needs*

Capacity assessment, which analyses the desired capacity against existing capacities, in order to systematically gather important information on capacity assets and needs, constitutes an important tool that helps to formulate a capacity development strategy that addresses capacity challenges faced by a group of people or an organisation (UNDP 2008a:10). Capacity assessment, which is a very complex challenge, needs to be done in collaboration with all of the stakeholders, namely the state, civil organisations and potential beneficiaries. External experts are only used as facilitators and advisors to the process (ADA 2011:11). It can be conducted at different phases of the planning or programming cycle, either at the first phase of a programme or project to establish or confirm its direction, or during the implementation of the programme or project to do a follow-up (UNDP 2008a:10).

There are three steps in capacity assessment, which include the following:

- Mobilisation and design: where engaged stakeholders discuss and find answers to the three guiding questions, namely “capacity for why?”, “capacity for whom?”, and “capacity for what?” Having answers to these three questions helps stakeholders to determine which capacity investments should be given priority for a particular group of people;
- Conducting the capacity assessment: where data and information on desired and existing capacity are collected through various means, such as self-assessment, interviews and focus groups;
- Summary and interpretation of the results: where desired capacity and existing capacity are compared in order to determine the level

of effort required to close the gap between them, and to formulate a capacity development response or goals (Commonwealth Foundation 2014:03; UNDP 2009:26).

2.3.2.3 *Formulation of the capacity development programme*

The findings of capacity assessment assist in the formulation of the capacity development response, definition of capacity assessment indicators, and capacity development response cost. These aspects are discussed below:

- Definition of capacity response: where deliberate and sequenced actions related to the capacity development of a programme or project are taken and combined to address the following guiding questions: “capacity for why?”, “capacity for whom?”, and “capacity for what?”. The response should take into account the national, local or organisational budget, in order to ensure that enough resources are available to perform the actions required under the response;
- Decision on capacity assessment response indicators: where capacity development response output and outcome indicators are determined. As the capacity development response is integrated into the overall action plan, capacity development assessment indicators should also be incorporated into the monitoring framework of the programme or project;
- Capacity development response cost: where stakeholders realistically estimate the funding required in the implementation of the capacity development response. In case of insufficient funds for the proposed capacity development response, alternative solutions can be used, based on the priorities set during the design of capacity assessment and interpretation of its results (UNDP 2008a:13-14).

2.3.2.4 *Implementation of the capacity development response*

The implementation phase is where real actions normally take place, where all of the ideas, planning, assessing, analysing and designing are tested in the real world (UNDP 2009:29). The implementation of the capacity development response is done as part of the overall implementation of any programme or project, in which the emphasis is placed on the capacity development response. To ensure sustainable long-term results, implementation of the capacity development response should be in line with the country's systems and processes, in order to avoid fragmentation of efforts and information that undermines local capacity, ownership and opportunity for learning (UNDP 2009:29). The political dynamics of the country, the building of a strong relationship between stakeholders in managing change, and monitoring of progress for corrective measures, should be taken into consideration. A continuous link with national development goals, strategy and government reforms that strengthen the need for capacity development needs to be maintained (UNDP 2008a:15).

2.3.2.5 *Evaluation of the capacity development response*

Although monitoring of the progress of the capacity development response is done in the implementation phase, in order to correct deviations from the objectives and produce outputs from the inputs, it is important to evaluate the impact of the capacity development response on the lives of the beneficiaries (UNDP 2008a:15). Evaluation, which is frequently carried out by external experts, is not an easy task compared to monitoring progress outputs, which is more tangible. This is because the impact is achieved through a complex mix of factors whose causality cannot be traced to one or more ingredients in a linear fashion. Therefore, it is advisable to have an evaluation framework that is comprehensive enough to capture the key issues, and which is manageable over the long-term (UNDP 2009:32).

2.3.3 Human capacity development and social assistance

There is not much evidence linking social assistance and human capacity development of adult recipients, especially in terms of skills development and training. Most studies focus on CCTs, which are based on school attendance by the recipients' children on a regular basis (UNICEF 2014; Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean & ILO 2014; DFID 2011). Despite this paucity of evidence, some scholars are of the view that there is a strong correlation between social assistance and human capacity development of adult beneficiaries (Samson 2009; Falk 2012; Ciarini 2016).

According to Samson (2009:46), social assistance has an impact on the human capacity development of unemployed and low-paid workers who, through vocational education and training, can increase their chances of getting a job with higher wages, which will help them to escape from poverty (Samson 2009:46). Many developed countries, such as the United States of America (USA) and European countries, have various social assistance grants that assist poor families with vocational education and training, in order to provide them with adequate skills to compete successfully in the labour market. The main objective is to improve the social conditions of the beneficiaries and prevent them from remaining permanently on welfare (Falk 2012; Ciarini 2016). For example, the US Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) social welfare assists unemployed parents, especially single mothers, with educational grants to prepare them for decent work (Falk 2012:13). A study was conducted in Uganda, where the government provided cash assistance in 2008 to unemployed youth aged between 16 and 35, and invested more in training and business assets. This allowed 65% of them, four years later, to have adequate trade skills and much higher business capital stocks, which helped them to escape poverty (Blattman, Fiala & Martinez 2013:4). This shows that social assistance, through capacity development, can improve the living conditions of beneficiaries.

Social assistance provides poor families with cash transfers, in order to reduce their poverty level in the short-term and medium-term, and to strengthen the

human capacity of their children by enrolling them in schools. This is often done through CCTs, which require commitment from the parents to ensure that their children attend school regularly. Failing to respond to the requirements could result in beneficiaries' social assistance applications or grants being declined or cancelled (UNICEF 2014:04-05; UCLAC & ILO 2014:13; DFID 2006:02; Rawlings & Rubio 2005:30). This conditional type of social assistance has been established in numerous countries in recent years, especially Latin American countries such as Brazil, Mexico, Columbia, Jamaica and Honduras (UNICEF 2014:04-05; Rawlings & Rubio 2005:30). For example, in Brazil, there is a social assistance programme called "*Bolsa Familia*", which provides CCTs to poor families with school-age children, provided that each child attends school at least 90% of the time (DFID 2006:02-03). These CCTs have resulted in an increase in school attendance among many poor families in these countries. For example, the Bangladesh Cash for Education programme has helped to increase children's enrolment in school between 20 and 30% in recent years, and these children are likely to stay in school up to two years longer than other children. Similarly, in Nicaragua, the "Red de Proteccio" programme resulted in an increase of 23% in children's school enrolment between 2000 and 2003 (DFID 2005:13). In addition, CCT assistance, which also emphasises proper nutrition of children as part of the requirement, helps children to enhance their performance through the good nutrition they receive in the early years, which improves their long-term cognitive ability (DFID 2005:14).

Despite the significant increase in children's enrolment and attendance of school through cash transfer assistance in recent years, there is limited evidence in terms of whether cash transfer assistance results in an improvement in final education outcomes, namely educational performance and skills acquired (DFID 2011:27). Many scholars are concerned about the level of school performance and improved learning of the children whose parents benefit from cash transfer assistance (Schwartzman 2005; Reimers, Silva & Trevino 2006). They argue that many countries that use CCTs, such as Brazil, Mexico, and Indonesia, focus more on school assistance, attendance and enrolment, but seldom pay attention to school drop-outs, quality of instruction, repetition and school improvement,

which may have a negative impact on the human capacity development of these children.

2.3.4 Human capacity development and poverty alleviation

Poverty is a stumbling block towards the achievement of economic development, including the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and human capacity development, through education and skills development, is regarded as the primary weapon against poverty (Awan, Malik, Sarwar & Waqas 2011:1). It is universally accepted that capacity development through education is a powerful equaliser, opening doors that can lift people out of poverty, because it empowers people and strengthens nations (Awan *et al* 2011; City & Guilds Centre for Skills Development 2010; Maile 2008). Education, ranging from basic skills such as literacy and numeracy to high level research and development skills, produces knowledge and transforms human capital, which can help people to escape from poverty by improving access to work and productivity (City & Guilds Centre for Skills Development 2010:01; Melin 2001:12).

According to Awan *et al* (2011) and Melin (2001), there is an inverse relationship between education and poverty, in the sense that if the level of education of a population is higher, the number of poor people will be fewer, as education imparts knowledge and skills, which are linked to higher wages. Awan *et al* (2011) highlight the direct and indirect effects of education on poverty. According to them, the direct impact of education on poverty is through the higher earnings or wages that people receive because of the investment in their human capacity development, such as skills development. The indirect effect of education on poverty is in conjunction with the improvements of income through investment in education, which allows for the fulfilment of basic needs such as health, shelter, nutritional food, clean water and sanitation. There is evidence that capacity development through education can directly affect other dimensions of poverty, such as reducing infant mortality and improving women's control over their fertility (City & Guilds Centre for Skills Development 2010).

Sayed (2008: 63-64) argues that the link between education and poverty alleviation is very complex - it is neither a linear nor a simple cause-and-effect relationship. According to him, poverty alleviation cannot be achieved through education alone, but requires a national development strategy that addresses poverty at all levels, including the way in which the country's economy is managed, the extent of political participation, and provision of social services such as housing and health. This view is also supported by the World Bank, which indicated that human capacity development through education and skills development alone cannot automatically create jobs and alleviate poverty, but requires an enabling environment that facilitates the creation of jobs, which is economic growth. Education is necessary for improving the productivity and competitiveness of an economy, so that when the economy grows, more jobs will be created and more skilled people will be needed (King & Palmer 2007:18).

There are challenges regarding how to reach the poor and the choice of suitable human capacity development training. According to King and Palmers (2007:21), it is possible to successfully reach poor people for human capacity development training, but training on its own is not sufficient. It needs to incorporate the provision of empowerment strategies, including gender awareness, as well as a decent jobs agenda related to the needs of the poor, into mainstream training and education.

There are two additional points that are critical in reaching the poor for capacity development through training and skills development. Firstly, the time frame and methods for doing this require the availability of sufficient financial means, as various studies confirmed that reaching the very poor is costly than reaching the less poor or non-poor (King & Palmer 2007:22; Williams 2005). Secondly, the challenge related to the policy of assisting the poor with capacity development interventions is that their achievement is itself a task of major proportions. As with the formal sector, training for urban and rural poor in the informal sector should be a high priority for the government training institution, and the change required should be based on the method used, content of the training module, and the use of a participatory approach (King & Palmer 2007:22).

2.3.5 Human capacity development and economic growth

Many scholars agree that there is a direct link between capacity development through education and economic growth (Eigbiremolen & Anaduaka 2014; OECD 2012; Hanushek & Wobmann 2010; Aghion, Boustan, Hoxby & Vandenbussche 2009; Maile 2008). Based on the theory of growth, education or training can affect economic growth in three ways. Firstly, education or training has the power to increase human capital in the labour market, which increases labour productivity, and in turn puts provisional growth on a higher equilibrium level of output. Secondly, education is an instrument that can increase the innovative capacity of the economy - new knowledge and technology can create and process a product or service that promotes growth. Thirdly, education can provide the knowledge needed to understand and process new information, and effectively implement new technologies created by others, which promotes economic growth (Hanushek & Wobmann 2010:245). This is supported by Sayed (2008:54), who indicates that growth constitutes the end-point of investment in education, and education plays an important role in promoting and enhancing growth. He argues that through education, people enhance their human capacity and skills, which increase productivity, thereby resulting in the increase in income and economic growth.

Despite various interests in the relationship between human capacity development through education and economic growth, the evidence is fragile at best. Aghion et al (2008:01) provide some reasons for this shortcoming. Firstly, a state's human capacity development investment is non-random. Most rich and developed countries have the financial capacity to regularly increase their education spending, in comparison with poor or underdeveloped countries. Thus, there is a possibility that the correlation between education and economic growth is subject to reverse causality. Secondly, due to poor evidence of direct education investment, many scholars are often forced to use crude proxies such as average literacy rate in a state, which is an outcome that is often chosen as a state's level of investment in education, but does not provide much information about the link between education and economic growth. Lastly, most scholars

who study the link between education and economic growth often fail to pay attention to the intermediate variables that are likely to prove the mechanisms at work.

Miller (n.d.:4) argues that the way in which people think about learning through human capacity development and economic growth are constantly changing over time. He highlights the controversy over the observation that the various types of knowledge acquired by people during the industrial era constituted only a part of what they know, and that the notion of measurement of industrial wealth by GDP is only part of overall societal wealth. Although this conclusion seems obvious as attention shifts to concerns about people's quality of life, community care, and the environment, it also underlines the historical specificity of the ways of looking at the world around us, and signals that the way of doing things, fruits of education and measurement of wealth through GDP are time-specific.

2.4 SOCIAL SECURITY IN OECD COUNTRIES

2.4.1 Social security in Europe

Social security programmes in Europe are part of social protection systems, which are financed by three types of contributions: employers, protected persons, and the state. The proportional contributions from these three sources vary greatly considerably between countries. In Belgium, Spain, France, the Netherlands and Germany, about 65% of the contributions come from employers and protected persons. In the UK and Sweden, taxes are the main source of financing for social protection (Neubourg, Castonguay & Roelen 2007:13).

Social protection systems in Europe consist of contributory benefits and non-contributory benefits. Contributory benefits are linked to unemployment, retirement, illness and accidents. Non-contributory benefits are social assistance programmes such as child benefits and social pensions (Neubourg *et al* 2007). Social protection in Europe is based on every life stage of individuals

and families. It includes child allowances, which are universal for families who have children, employment assistance for youth, employment benefits for adults during their active period, and pensions for old age people. Within the social protection system, social assistance programmes play a small role, because other types of benefits are also available. Universal health care and free education (including higher-level education) are large parts of the social safety net. Overall, all of these social programmes are designed and combined to prevent individuals from experiencing poverty or disastrous events during their life cycle (Neubourg *et al* 2007:02-03).

In terms of public social spending, the average percentage of GDP in the social security sector of OECD countries is estimated at 21% (OECD 2016). The majority of European OECD countries allocate more funds to social security than the USA (Neubourg *et al* 2007:02). The highest social security spending levels in Europe are found in Central and North European countries, with France and Finland having a social security expenditure of over 30% of the GDP, followed by Belgium, Italy, Austria, Sweden, and Greece, which spend more than a quarter of their economic resources on social spending. The USA and other OECD countries, such as Australia and Japan, which have expanded their social systems over the past 50 years to become a comprehensive welfare state, spend over 20% of their GDP on social security (Eurostat 2018; OECD 2016).

Nevertheless, the weight attached to different types of social programmes varies between countries. For example, the Italian social security system allocates more funds to old age and survivor benefits, and spends less on other social programmes, such as unemployment benefits, despite having one of the highest unemployment rates in Western Europe. Sweden, the UK and Germany, on the other hand, place more emphasis on covering the housing costs of social protection recipients than other Western Europe countries such as Denmark and Netherlands (Neubourg *et al* 2007:02-03; Hansen & Schultz-Nielsen 2015:03). Ironically, the average spending on social assistance programmes in Europe represents only 3% of GDP. This is due, as explained above, to the fact that social assistance in most European countries is considered to be an instrument of last resort provided to low-income people and families, who are not able to

support themselves, or are not assisted by other social programmes (Neubourg *et al* 2007:02-03).

To reduce unemployment and develop the human capacity of jobless people in Europe, many European countries are using social scheme policies, also known as Active Labour Market policies (ALMPs). These policies cover a broad range of measures that facilitate the recipients' (re)-integration into the competitive labour market (Bouget, Frazer, Marlier, Sabato & Vanhercke 2015:41). According to Bonoli (2010:11-12), ALMPs are subdivided into four main categories, namely incentive reinforcement, employment assistance, occupation, and human capital investment. "Incentive reinforcement" aims to strengthen positive and negative work incentives for people living on benefits. This is generally done by limiting passive benefits or making incentive benefits conditional on participation in market-schemes. This type of ALMPs is mostly used in English-speaking countries such as the UK.

"Employment assistance" aims to assist unemployed people to effectively (re)-integrate themselves into or participate in the labour market, by connecting them with placement services and job search programmes, as well as providing them with job subsidies and psychological counselling. "Occupation" is a type of ALMPs that tries to keep jobless people busy, in order to limit their human capital depletion. They are often placed in job creation schemes or participate in non-employment- related training programmes. Continental European countries are the most frequent users of this type of ALMPs.

The last ALMPs is "Human capital investment", which provides vocational training to jobless people with low educational levels. The idea is to improve their educational level, so that they are able to compete in the labour market. This type of ALMPs is mostly used by Nordic countries. The level of expenditure on ALMPs in Europe differs between countries. Countries such as Belgium, Denmark and France, for example, spend a lot on ALMPs programmes such as vocational training and lifelong learning, in order to improve the human capacity of beneficiaries, thereby facilitating their integration into the labour market (Bouget *et al* 2015: 41).

2.4.2 Social security in the USA

Social welfare in the USA started with the Social Security Act of 1935, which was signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in response to the concern of the liberals, who argued that federal social programmes were the best way to help the poor (Karger & Stoesz 2010:02). Initially, the Social Security Act of 1935 consisted of four social programmes, namely social security old-age insurance, unemployment insurance, public assistance programmes for the needy, aged and blind, and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Over the years, the social security or poverty programmes expanded to include other programmes as well.

Despite the frequent increase in the number of social security programmes, the USA's social security system is a very complex mix of programmes, policies and services. Unlike most European countries' social security systems, which operate under a comprehensive and integrated welfare plan, the USA's social security system relies more on a patchwork quilt of social programmes and policies. This includes public social assistance programmes characterised by disorganised policies and programmes, and a non-redundant system of social welfare services. It is also entirely based on means- tests of needy individuals or families, in order to assist them to meet their subsistence needs, but this is not enough to lift them out of poverty (Karger & Stoesz 2010:224).

Social assistance programmes in the USA are under the umbrella of the federal government's welfare programmes, and include four majors programmes, namely Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF); Supplemental Security Income (SSI); General Assistance (GA); and Supplemental Assistance Program (SNAP) (Karger & Stoesz 2010:224).

TANF, which replaced the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) programme in 1996, is a federal programme that provides limited cash assistance, work support such as childcare, and other services to families who have incomes below the poverty threshold, and has a duration of five years.

Over 2 million American families are benefitting from TANF (Karger & Stoesz 2010:224; Floyd, Pavetti & Schott 2017:04).

Supplement Security Income (SSI) is a public assistance programme administered by the Social Security Administration, and provides cash assistance to elderly and disabled poor individuals, including children. To qualify for SSI, the applicant must have limited resources, which means that his or her resources are valued at no more than \$ 2000 for an individual, and \$ 3000 for a couple. This excludes resources such as a house, car, and certain forms of insurance (Karger & Stoesz 2010:232). In December 2014, more than 8.3 million people benefitted from SSI, and the government spent more than \$ 55 billion on the programme (US Social Security Administration 2015).

General Assistance (GA) or General Relief programmes are cash and in-kind assistance programmes that are entirely financed and administered by the state. The programmes provide short-term or ongoing needs assistance to low-income people, who do not qualify for federally-funded assistance such as TANF or SSI. The assistance is limited to the acutely poor without children, and people who have an income that is less than half of the poverty level (Schott & Hill 2015; Karger & Stoesz 2010:233). Schott and Hill (2015) argue that despite the increased need for aid after the recession, GA programmes have weakened considerably in recent decades, and are continuing to do so. From 1986 until now, the number of states that provide general assistance has decreased from 38 to 26. In addition, only 11 of the 26 states are providing general assistance to poor people who do not have children and are disabled - the others require recipients to be unemployed due to physical or mental problems.

General assistance benefits levels are very low, with maximum standard benefit levels being less than half of the federal poverty level. The median monthly benefits for programmes serving only unemployable people are set at \$ 211, and programmes that serve employable people are set at \$ 374 (Schott & Hill 2015). The Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, originally known as the Food Stamp Program, provides food assistance to very low-income households (Karger & Stoesz 2010:233; Center on Budget and Policies Priorities 2016).

Unlike most means-tested benefit programmes that are limited to particular categories of low-income families, SNAP is generally available to almost all households with low incomes. More than 70% of SNAP beneficiaries are families with children, and more than 25% are households with seniors or people with disabilities. In 2015, more than 45 million low-income Americans received an adequately nutritional diet in a typical month. In the 2015 fiscal year, the expenditure on SNAP by the federal government was estimated at around \$ 75 billion (Center on Budget and Policies Priorities 2016).

2.5 SOCIAL SECURITY IN BRICS COUNTRIES

The acronym “BRICS” stands for Brazil, The Russian Federation, Indian, China and South Africa (Singh & Dube 2011:03; International Social Security Association 2013:13; Das Sharma 2014). All of these countries are developing or newly industrialised countries and G-20 members that have the fastest-growing economies in the world. They represent about 3 billion people (42% of the world population), with a combined GDP of US \$ 16.039 trillion (27% of global GDP) (Das Sharma 2014; ISSA 2016:2). The group was initially established in 2001 as “BRIC” (Brazil, The Russian Federation, Indian and China) by economist Jim O’Neil, in Goldman Sachs’ paper on the growth prospects of the economies of these four countries, which play an increasingly important role in the global economy. South Africa was controversially invited to join the group in 2010, in order to form BRICS (Singh & Dube 2011:3; ISSA 2013:13; Das Sharma 2014).

As new drivers of global economic growth, the BRICS countries, over the past two decades, have become more involved in social protection and the extension of social security coverage for their populations (ISSA 2013:14). Despite facing multiple challenges, the achievement of the BRICS social security goals is important (ISSA 2016:02). Among the social security programmes implemented in BRICS countries are the following: in Brazil, there is the *Bolsa Familia* programme, a CCT programme, which increased the percentage of the middle-class population from 38% in 2001 to 55% in 2011. Russia improved the adequacy and sustainability of its social security schemes, including those for

migrants and informal sector workers. In India, the *National Rural Employment Guarantee* scheme and the *Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana* health insurance scheme were introduced for people working in the informal sector. In China, there was also an important extension of social security coverage. The coverage of health insurance, for example, increased from 318 million people in 2005 to 1.26 billion people in 2010. In South Africa, the government launched an ambitious universal health insurance programme to enhance its social security programmes in 2012 (ISSA 2013:14).

In the following sections, each BRICS country's social security, except for South Africa, are discussed in detail. With regard to the latter, South Africa's social security and capacity development are examined in detail in Chapter Three.

2.5.1 Social security in Brazil

Constitutionally, there are three pillars of social security in Brazil, namely health, social insurance and social assistance (Da Fonseca Menezes, Brait-Poplowski & Roversi 2012:15). In this study, the focus is on Brazilian social assistance in the form of cash transfers. Non-contributory social assistance benefits in Brazil are the main instruments for poverty alleviation, as they provide a safety net for poor people whose household income is below the official minimum level defined as the poverty line (Da Fonseca Menezes *et al* 2012:15). Like many developing countries, Brazilian social assistance programmes use means-test benefits paid to demonstrably poor families. Payment may be subject to some conditions for the beneficiaries. For example, children must attend school on a regular basis or keep their vaccination record up to date (Da Fonseca Menezes *et al* 2012:16).

There are two main social assistance strategic plans in Brazil, namely Fome Zero (Zero Hunger) and Brasil Sem Miséria (Brazil Without Poverty). President Luis Inacio Lula da Silva launched Fome Zero in 2003, in order to deal with hunger and poverty in Brazil. The plan has four key components of social protection and promotion: firstly, access to healthy and sufficient food, which includes one of the main cash transfer programmes called "*Bolsa Familia*", and

other programmes such as Schools Food Programme, popular kitchen food banks, and the distribution of Vitamin A and iron supplements. Secondly, the strengthening of family agriculture, which includes programmes such as agricultural credit and insurances programmes, and food procurement programmes. Thirdly, support for income generation, which includes productive microcredit, solidarity economies and professional training programmes. Fourthly, social accountability and participation, which include training programmes that aim to increase empowerment and accountability (Robles & Mirosevic 2013:16; Da Fonseca Menezes *et al* 2012:19-20).

The *Bolsa Familia* programme, as indicated above, is one of the main CCT programmes in Brazil, whose main aim is to fight hunger and poverty. It was established at the end of 2003, with the objective of consolidating several previous cash transfer programmes, such as *Bolsa Escola* and *Bolsa Alimentac*. It targets the extremely poor families in Brazil (Barrientos 2013:897; ISSA 2013:26; Da Fonseca Menezes *et al* 2012:26). The extremely poor families are those who live below the extreme poverty line³ and have a per capita monthly family income lower than Real⁴ 70 (excluding the pensions of any elderly household members). Poor families are families with a monthly per capita family income between Real 70 and 140. Extremely poor families receive monthly benefits between Real 70 and 306, and poor families receive monthly benefits between Real 32 and 236. Benefits received by both types of families include variable amounts, depending on the number of pregnant and nursing women, children below the age of 16 (maximum of 5 children), and youth between the age of 16 and 17 (maximum of 2 youth) (ISSA 2013:26; Da Fonseca Menezes *et al* 2012:26). In return, families must comply with a series of education and health conditions, such as children being enrolled in a school and attending a minimum of 85% of monthly classes (education), or pregnant or nursing women regularly attending health educational workshops provided by health teams (ISSA 2013:26; Da Fonseca Menezes *et al* 2012:26). Between 2003 and 2011, *Bolsa Familia*'s budget significantly increased from Real 3.2 billion to 14.7 billion,

³ In 2012, the Brazilian extreme poverty line was estimated at Real 70, and the poverty line at Real 140.

⁴ Real is the monetary unit of Brazil.

assisting more than 13.2 million families, which translates into approximately 52 million people, about 28% of the Brazilian population (Da Fonseca Menezes *et al* 2012:26, 31).

Despite the progress made through *Fome Zero*, including *Bolsa Familia*, seven years after their creation, a large proportion of the population remained in extreme poverty, and had not been integrated into *Fome Zero* programmes. This situation forced President Dilma Rousseff to introduce, in 2011, the second main social assistance plan, called “*Brasil Sem Miséria*”, which targets households with a monthly per capita income below Real 70 (Robles & Mirosevic 2013:17; Da Fonseca Menezes *et al* 2012:41). The aim of the plan is to promote social programmes such as health, education, sanitation, social assistance, and electricity, in favour of poor families in Brazil, as well as to increase economic growth and employment rates through the Growth Acceleration Programme (*Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento*). Another aim of the plan is to increase the quality of public services, in order to promote equality of opportunities and reduce the incidence of vulnerability among the poorest population (Robles & Mirosevic 2013:17). The *Brasil Sem Miséria* plan has three main components: (1) Increase in family income, which is mainly delivered through the *Bolsa Familia* programme, and conducting active searches on poor families who are not registered for any *Fome Zero* programmes, but need social assistance; (2) Economic or productive inclusion, which promotes income and employment generation through training and microcredit to poor people living in urban areas, and also boosts production in rural areas; and (3) Access to public services available in the country, for example, public health services for women issues, and youth and elderly literacy programmes (Robles & Mirosevic 2013:17; Da Fonseca Menezes *et al* 2012:44).

The plan involves the participation of five Ministries, namely the Ministry of Social Development, which coordinates all of the activities, the Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Planning, Ministry of Budget and Administration, and the President’s Office (Da Fonseca Menezes *et al* 2012:42). In 2014, the *Brasil Sem Miséria* plan covered more than 16.2 million people, which corresponded to 11% of the national population (Robles & Mirosevic 2013:17).

The Brazilian social assistance programmes are funded through the budget allocation from the federal government, state and federal district and municipalities; contributions from employers and employees' taxes; lottery income; and import contributions (ISSA 2013:22).

The impact that social assistance programmes in Brazil have on poverty alleviation and human capacity development is very encouraging (Barrientos 2013; ISSA 2013). According to Barrientos (2013:907), despite some shortfalls, the combined social assistance programmes in Brazil reach an excess of 20 million poor households, and contribute significantly towards the country's poverty alleviation and income inequality.

2.5.2 Social security in Russia

During the Soviet regime (former Russia), social assistance or a safety net did not exist, as no one was officially considered to be poor. Being a communist country during that time, social policy and welfare were characterised by a commitment to full employment, strict government regulations on prices of goods and wages, and the operation of insurance schemes by the state. Social benefits such as housing and free transport were mostly provided through enterprises. Public transfers such as pensions, birth grants, funeral grants, students' stipends, family allowances and other social benefits were provided by the state (Titterton 2006:89; Gallagher & Struyk 2001:2).

However, in the late eighties, with the global economic changes, which also affected Russia's economy, many sectors of the population were facing hardship, unemployment, increased inequality, and poverty. Soviet social policies on employment, relative equality, and enterprise welfare were not able to cope with the new global economic changes (Gallagher & Struyk 2001:2). The situation forced the Russian government to reform its social security policies in the nineties. These new social security policies were primarily based on a social insurance model, in comparison with the previous universal social assistance

model used by the country (ISSA 2013:49). The government introduced social policies such as pension funds, unemployment benefits and health benefits.

Furthermore, the state's social responsibilities had shifted at regional and local government levels. A poverty line methodology was adopted in 1997 based on the minimum consumption budget in each region (Kulmala, Kainu, Nikula & Kivinen 2017: 293; ISSA 2013: 49; Gallagher & Struyk 2001:2). Under the rulership of Putin, the government focused more on the improvement of the quality of life of their citizens, and increased their social expenditure, thanks to the high price of oil and gas on the international market, which helped the Russian government to boost its economy (Kulmala *et al* 2017:294). Thus, the new social policy reforms had considerably decreased the poverty and inequality rates in Russia, and positioned the country's social welfare system closer to the social policies of most OECD countries, despite some differences (Kulmala *et al* 2017:294; Gallagher & Struyk 2001:02).

The Russian national social security system, as indicated above, is mostly based on social insurance programmes, but also has some non-contributory social assistance programmes. Social insurance programmes entitle people who are insured to benefits, based on the contributions paid to particular insurance funds. There are two types of social insurance programmes: (1) compulsory social assurance programmes, such as old-age pensions, occupational injury, and temporary disability; and (2) voluntary insurance, such as old-age pensions, personal temporary disability, and health. Compulsory social assurance programmes are financed by an association of autonomous extra-budgetary social insurance funds, which include the Pension Fund of the Russian Federation, Social Insurance Fund of the Russian Federation, and the Federal Compulsory Health Insurance Fund. All of these funds are financed through contributions by individuals, economic entities and the state (ISSA 2013:51).

Non-contributory social assistance programmes are for individuals who are not covered by any social insurance fund (ISSA 2013:51). According to Sederlof (n.d.), there are no explicit poverty benefits in Russia, such as social assistance

programmes, but there are various categorical and privileges benefits in the form of cash transfers and in-kinds, some of which have a specific poverty targeting function. Among these social assistance benefits are veteran benefits, unemployment compensation, child allowances, housing allowances, family allowances, and sickness and maternity benefits. There is also informal social support, such as private plots that needy people or households receive from friends and relatives to help them engage in home production, in order to satisfy their basic needs (Kulmala *et al* 2017). Non-contributory social assistance programmes are financed by the State through government budgets, and depend on the country's economic situation, fiscal performance, budgetary spending and demographic profile (ISSA 2013:52).

2.5.3 Social security in India

India is the second largest country in the world after China in terms of population, with an estimated 1,210,193,000 people, representing 18% of the global population. Each year, the Indian population increases by about 18 million (Australia's population). Over the past decade, the population increased to about 180 million, which is the size of Brazil's population (ISSA 2013:81). As a developing country with a continental population, the Indian government and private enterprises face a huge challenge in providing full employment to all potential employees. To overcome this challenge, employment in India is split into two distinct sectors, namely the formal and informal sectors, with more people working in the informal sector. For example, in the 2004/2005 National Sample Survey, the total number of employed people was estimated at 457.46 million, of which about 394.9 million were in the informal sector, representing 86% of the total employment figure for India (ISSA 2013:81-82).

The dominance of the informal sector in the Indian economy makes it impossible for the government to provide a quintessential social security cap for all, as it is difficult to combine both formal and informal sectors under one umbrella (Jha & Bhattacharyya 2010:06; ISSA 2013:85). However, despite this challenge, since 1923, the state has managed to introduce various laws governing social security, which cover people working mostly in government and other formal

sectors (ISSA 2013:85; Justino 2007:372). Among these social security laws are the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923 and *Workmen's Compensation Rules of 1924* (WC Act), *Employees' State Insurance Act of 1948*, *Employees' Provident Funds and Miscellaneous Provisions Act of 1952* (EPF Act), and *Payment of Gratuity Act of 1972* (PG Act) (ISSA 2013:83; Jha & Bhattacharyya 2010:07; ISSA 2013:84).

The *Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923* and *Workmen's Compensation Rules of 1924* cover permanent and temporary disabled workers for any work injury, as well as their dependents in the case of death (ISSA 2013:84). The *Employees' State Insurance Act of 1948* covers and assists people working in factories and enterprises with ten or more employees, together with their families, by providing them with comprehensive medical care and cash benefits during sickness, maternity leave, temporary and permanent disability, or death (ISSA 2013:85). The *Employees' Provident Funds and Miscellaneous Provisions Act of 1952* (EPF Act) provide retirement benefits to people working in factories and enterprises of 20 or more employees, and provide pensions to the families of those who died during employment (Dezan Shira & Associates 2017; ISSA 2013:85; Brown & Poirier n.d.). The *Payment of Gratuity Act of 1972* (PG Act) provides 15 days' wages to workers at factories and enterprises of 10 or more employees after every completed year of service (ISSA 2013:85; Dezan Shira & Associates 2017).

The Indian social insurance scheme is far behind many developed countries' social insurance schemes, as it covers only 5.7% of the population in the age group of 15 to 65 (Jha & Bhattacharyya 2010:06; Dezan Shira & Associates 2017). The applicability of contributions to social insurances in India is often based on the number of employees - some social insurance schemes require employer contributions from all enterprises, some from enterprises with ten or more employees, and some from enterprises with twenty or more employees (Dezan Shira & Associates 2017).

People working in informal sectors also receive some form of social insurance from the government and private insurers (ISSA 2013:96). India instituted life,

medical and pension insurance products for informal sector workers through the Life Insurance Corporation (LIC) (a government insurance company) and other government-owned establishments (ISSA 2013:96). There are also *Micro Pension Schemes* exclusively for women working in the informal sector. In these schemes, the savings of the recipients are accumulated until an agreed age, generally between 58 and 60, when withdrawal can be made either as a lump-sum amount or phased withdrawals (Jha & Bhattacharyya 2010:08). Among the oldest *Micro Pension Schemes* is the *Self Employed Women's Association* (SEWA), which assists women working in informal sectors with health and life policies through private and national insurance enterprises (ISSA 2013:94; Jha & Bhattacharyya 2010:08). Some private insurers, such as microfinance institutions, cooperatives, self-help groups (SHGs), and NGOs, also provide loan-linked products to informal sector workers and other low-income people (ISSA 2013:86). With these innovative actions, India has become a global leader in the development of micro insurance for low-income people. In 2010, over 164 million informal sector workers and low-income persons had received some form of micro insurance from the government and private insurers (ISSA 2013:86).

Various social assistance programmes were also introduced by the Indian government for needy people in urban and rural areas at the central and state level (ISSA 2013:96; Justino 2007:372). In 1995, the Indian government introduced an all-India protective social security called "*the National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP)*", in order to assist poor households in urban and rural areas (Justino 2007:372). Within the National Social Assistance Programme, there are three main social assistance programmes, namely employment programmes for able-bodied people, such as the Sampoorna Gram Swarozgar Yojana programme, food-for-work programmes, and employment assurance schemes (ISSA 2013:96). These programmes provide unskilled temporary jobs for at least 100 days to poor adult members of households in urban and rural areas, so as to avoid a welfare dependence culture developing among the beneficiaries (ISSA 2013:96). Besides these three social assistance programmes, there are also welfare programmes for vulnerable groups such as elderly and disabled people, and basic education and nutrition programmes for

children (ISSA 2013:96; Justino 2007:372). India also has important food assistance programmes, namely the “*Mid-Day Scheme (MDMS)*” for learners in primary schools; the “*Village Grain Banks Scheme*”, which provides grains in tribal areas and identified districts; the “*Target Public Distribution System (TPDS)*”, which distributes food to poor households in urban and rural areas; the “*Annapurna Scheme*”, which distributes food parcels to pensioners in rural areas who do not receive a pension from the government; and the “*Antyodaya Anna Scheme*”, which provides food to the poorest of the poor (ISSA 2013:96-97).

To reduce maternity mortality and poverty in India, the government provides a CCT called “*Janani Suraksha Yojana*” of INR 500 to women from poor households who give birth, plus an additional amount of INR 200 to women in rural areas, and INR 200 to women in urban areas who give birth in a hospital (ISSA 2013:98).

2.5.4 Social security in China

China is the largest country in the world in terms of population, which is estimated at 1,347.35 million people, of whom 690.79 million or 51.27% live in urban areas, and 656.56 million or 48.73% live in rural areas (ISSA 2013:106). Economically, despite the global economic and financial crisis, China is among the few countries in the world that experienced a double-digit annual growth rate in recent years (ISSA 2013:107; Yang, Williamson & Shen 2009:03). In 2017, it had the second largest GDP in the world, estimated at US \$ 11.8 trillion, after the United States (Bajpai 2017). However, despite its high economic growth rate, employment in China has gradually declined in recent years due to the growing preference for the use of capital and technological production over labour-intensive production. This situation impacted the country's unemployment rate, which increased slightly from 4% in 2010 to 4.1% in 2016 (Jun 2016). This has resulted in an increase in social security spending, as more people are claiming unemployment insurance benefits and other forms of social assistance (ISSA 2013:107).

The Chinese social security system (*shehui baozhang*), which was initiated in 1951 with the introduction of the *Labour Insurance Regulation*, as amended in 1953, 1958 and 1978, consists mainly of social insurance programmes (*shehui baoxian*), social assistance and social welfare programmes (*shehui fuli*), and health care programmes (ISSA 2016:36; ISSA 2013:108; Ringen & Ngok 2013:09; Stepan & Muller 2012:65). Many scholars are of the view that the Chinese social security system follows the developmental welfare approach, which places an emphasis on economic development and the integration of welfare policies into the national development plan of the country (Ke 2015:109-110; ISSA 2013:108; Ringen & Ngok 2013:06). However, Zhang (2014:219) argues that China's social security system only focuses on the fulfilment of basic living requirements of underprivileged people, and does not enable them to develop their human capacity, in order to actively participate in the labour market and economic development of the country.

China's social insurance programmes include old-age income security, health care, unemployment, occupational injury and maternity, which are funded through the contributions of insured employers and their employees, as well as the self-employed and the state (ISSA 2013; Ringen & Ngok 2013:09; Stepan & Muller 2012:65). Old-age income security has the following pension schemes: (1) "*Budget-funded Pension Scheme*", which covers employees of public, cultural, educational and scientific institutions, and military personnel who have reached the age of 60 for males and 55 for females. (2) "*Basic Pension Scheme for Urban Workers*", which covers employees in all urban enterprises (except self-employed and part-time workers) and public institutions that are partially or not funded by the government budget, and have reached the age of 60 for males, 55 for female cadres, and 50 for female workers. (3) "*Voluntary Rural Pension Scheme*", which is composed of government-financed basic pensions and individual pensions, covers all rural residents who are above 16 years of age and not covered by the Basic Pension Scheme for Urban Workers. Enrolled residents contribute an amount that ranges between CNY⁵ 100 to CNY 500 each year to the individual pension accounts of their choice. (4) "*Voluntary Urban*

⁵ CNY is the abbreviation for "Chinese yuan Renminbi", the Chinese currency.

Pension Scheme”, modelled on the Voluntary Rural Pension Schemes, which covers all urban residents from 16 years and above (excluding students) who are unemployed and not covered by the *Basic Pension Scheme for Urban Workers*. The enrolled residents contribute an amount that ranges between CNY 100 and CNY 1000 each year to the individual accounts of their choice, and the government provides a subsidy of no less than CNY 30 to each person every year. (5) “*Minimum Subsistence Income Guarantee Scheme*” is a means-tested and budget-funded scheme implemented in all cities, which covers the whole population, especially the neediest people (ISSA 2013:111-116; Ringen & Ngok 2013:09; Stepan & Muller 2012:65).

The health care insurance includes the following: (1) *Urban Employees Basic Medical Insurance*, which covers part of the medical expenses of urban employees working in government, enterprises, and non-profit organisations. (2) *Urban Residents Basic Medical Insurance Scheme (URBMIS)*, which covers the medical expenses of people who do not earn a salary, such as the elderly and children. (3) *New Rural Cooperative Medical Scheme (NRCMS)*, a voluntary scheme for people living in rural areas, which covers their medical costs for the treatment of serious disease (ISSA 2013:117-119; Ringen & Ngok 2013:11).

Employment injury insurance, which is obligatory for all formal enterprises and funded through their contributions, covers work-related injuries and the death of workers. It comprises of three compensations: (1) medical and nursing allowances; (2) disability allowances, excluding self-inflicted injuries such as those related to drunkenness; and (3) work-related deaths, including funeral costs (Ringen & Ngok 2013:11).

Unemployment insurance, which is also obligatory for enterprises, and funded through employers and employees’ contributions, covers the living and medicals costs of unemployed workers for a period of up to two years. There is also provision for re-employment, which requires re-employment documents such as re-employment support certificates, vocational training and job-seeking training documents (Ringen & Ngok 2013:11-12). Maternity insurance, which is provided

to female employees to cover the loss of salary and medical costs associated with childbirth, is funded entirely by employers (Ringen & Ngok 2013:11-12).

The second component of the Chinese social security system is non-contributory social assistance or social welfare means-tested programmes, which provide cash transfers and in-kinds to the most disadvantaged groups in urban and rural areas, such as poor households, elderly, orphans, and disabled people. These programmes are mainly implemented at local level, and include schemes such as the *5 Guarantee Scheme*, *Minimum Living Standard Guarantee Scheme (MLSG)*, and other social assistance programmes, such as medical assistance, education grants and scholarships for low-income families. The funding of these programmes comes from government tax (Ringen & Ngok 2013:09; Needham 2013:06; ISSA 2013:108; Stepan & Muller 2012:65; Gustafsson & Quheng 2007).

The *5 Guarantee Scheme* is a traditional, community-based social assistance programme that provides a set of five benefits in kind, namely food, clothes, housing, medical assistance and death grants, to households without an income or which are financially supported by children, widows, orphans, disabled persons and veterans (ISSA 2013:116; Stepan & Muller 2012:65; Ringen & Ngok 2013:11-12). In 2011, the government allocated a total of 12.17 billion to assist 5.3 million destitute people through the 5 guarantee scheme (ISSA 2013:116). Public housing, which was among the core benefits of this scheme in the pre-reform period, has now, with the new housing policy, been mostly privatised through subsidised purchasing. This allows private people and organisations to accumulate wealth through home ownership, to the detriment of poor citizens (Ringen & Ngok 2013:12).

The *Minimum Living Standard Guarantee (MLSG)* is a means-tested scheme that provides cash assistance to unemployed workers and poor families with an income below the minimum living standard in urban and rural areas (ISSA 2013:116; Stepan & Muller 2012:65; Chen & Barrientos 2008:06-07; Gustafsson & Quheng 2007). The scheme was first piloted in Shanghai in 1993, mainly with “Xiangang workers”, who were dismissed from work as a result of the reform of

state-owned enterprises due to rapid market transition in the 1990s. The Ministry of Civil Affairs decided to extend it in 1997 to all cities, including Shanghai, Xiamen, Qingdao, Dalian, Fuzhou and Guangzhou. Furthermore, in 2007, the whole population was covered (ISSA 2013: 116; Ngok 2010; Gustafsson & Quheng 2007). To qualify for this scheme, the applicant needs to submit application forms, together with supporting documents, to the street committee where he/she lives, and this is then transferred to the Bureau of Civil Affairs of the local county for the final decision (Ngok 2010; Gustafsson & Quheng 2007). The rate of assistance of the MLSG is set according to expenses for the daily needs of a particular region, as well as the financial means of a local government (Ngok 2010; Gustafsson & Quheng 2007). In 2011, 22.77 million urban residents and 53.06 million rural residents benefited from the scheme, with a total expenditure of CNY 132.76 billion, mostly from the central government subsidy (ISSA 2013:116). The main problem of China's MLSG is that it only provides basic living requirements to needy families who, without other social assistance programmes, are unable to escape poverty. This is the reason why they are also benefiting from other social assistance programmes, such as medical aid, educational aid, and housing, in order to meet their multifaceted demands (Zhang 2014:220).

2.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the researcher provided a global overview of both social assistance and human capacity development, as well as their components and relationship to each other. The literature review revealed that there is a strong correlation between social assistance and human capacity development in terms of poverty reduction and economic growth. Social grants or cash transfer assistance provided to individuals to improve their human capital through education or skills development can increase their chances of getting a better job with higher wages or income. This ultimately enables them to escape from poverty and contribute to the economic growth of the country.

The researcher also discussed different social welfare models and social security systems used by some OECD and BRICS countries, with the exception

of South Africa. The literature review revealed that most OECD countries, except the USA, use universal social welfare, where the majority of the population benefit from social provisions. In the USA, social assistance is more selective, focusing mainly on needy families. Public social spending in these countries is very high compared to developing countries. Social assistance systems in BRICS countries, which are mostly considered to be developing, despite having the fastest economic growth rates, are characterised by means-tested benefits, which also focus on needy families. Some Latin American countries, such as Brazil, mostly use CCT assistance, where recipients have to comply with certain requirements, such as children being enrolled in and attending school on a regular basis, in order for their cash transfer assistance application to be approved.

CHAPTER 3: SOCIAL ASSISTANCE AND HUMAN CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and discuss different social assistance and capacity development policies and programmes in South Africa. The first section of the chapter deals with social assistance policies and programmes in South Africa, with a specific focus on the history of social assistance in South Africa, from colonialism to democracy. This is followed by a discussion of social assistance policies and acts introduced in the country, namely the *Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)*, *Social Assistance Act*, and *South Africa Security Agency Act*. Different social grants implemented in South Africa, such as the CSG, old age grant, DGs, foster care grant, grant in aid, care dependency grant, war veterans' grant, and social relief of distress grant, are also discussed. In addition, this section discusses the impact of social assistance on the poverty alleviation of its beneficiaries, including households affected by HIV and AIDS. It further discusses the relationship between social assistance and the dependency culture in South Africa, and the level of state expenditure on social assistance. This section ends with a discussion of the social assistance gaps that exist in the country.

The second section of the chapter deals with capacity development policies and programmes, focusing on the *Skills Development Act* and Sector Education and Training Authority (SETA), which is the institution responsible for the implementation of the Skills Development Act in South Africa. This section also discusses the relationship between skills development and economic employment and economic growth in South Africa.

3.2 SOCIAL ASSISTANCE POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES

3.2.1 History of social assistance in South Africa

During the pre-colonial era, the welfare needs of people were met through families, communities and religious organisations, such as the Dutch Reformed Church, and the first South African social assistance programme was the enactment of the Children Protection Act of 1913, which provided maintenance assistance to white children only (Pauw & Mncube 2007:12). With the growth of industrialisation and urbanisation in the 1920s, there was a significant increase in poverty, housing and health problems, which necessitated state social welfare intervention (Brockhoff 2013: 20; Patel 2005:68).

In 1924, the British and Dutch established a political alliance, and to solve the social problems that Whites were facing, they replaced the social welfare policy of “*laissez-faire*”, which was mainly supported by private charitable organisations, with the “*poor white problem*” social welfare policy. This social welfare policy was characterised by state interventions, whose main objective was to provide industrial jobs and other social assistance to poor Whites, to the detriment of other races, such as Blacks and Indians (Leubolt 2014:03; Patel 2005:68).

In 1928, the state introduced the “old-age pension” social grant, a non-contributory benefit provided to old aged poor Whites and Coloureds, who had to prove themselves through a means-test (Leubolt 2014:3; Brockhoff 2013: 20; Van Der Berg, Siebrits & Lekezwa 2009:3-4). Blacks and Indians did not qualify for this grant, since they could, through agriculture, which was their main activity, fend for themselves within their extended families. This social welfare discrimination was also imposed on migrant workers, who had to return to their native places of residence when they were unable to continue with their jobs in or near the cities (Leubolt 2014:3-4).

Between 1930 and 1947, other social welfare policies were introduced for Whites only, such as the social grant for blind people in 1936, DG in 1937, war veteran grant in 1941, and allowance for poor families in 1947 (Brockerhoff 2013:21; Van Der Berg *et al* 2009:04). Social protection against unemployment was comparatively underdeveloped, since job reservation and higher education, including skills development, were mostly reserved for Whites. The Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) only covered cyclical unemployment, which was of a relatively short period (Van Der Berg *et al* 2009:04).

Under the apartheid regime, which began in 1948, the Afrikaner National Party implemented, for more than 46 years, a policy of separate development, including social welfare based on race. Although social welfare policies were extended to all population groups during the apartheid era, they were still characterised by inequality and unfairness, with Whites benefitting more than other population groups (Potts 2012:76; Brown & Neku 2005:303). For example, in terms of the Old Age Grant of 1948, Coloureds and Indians were receiving 50%, and Blacks 25%, of the amount received by their white counterparts (Leubolt 2014:3-4). Furthermore, in the spirit of social welfare separation, in the 1950s and early 1960s, the apartheid regime transferred the management of social welfare for Blacks from the Department of Social Welfare to the Department of Bantu Administration and to the Departments of Coloured Affairs and Indian Affairs for Coloureds and Indians. This, according to the apartheid regime, allowed for the development of a social security system based on the needs and values of each population group (Brockerhoff 2013:21; Brown & Neku 2005:303). However, despite this decentralisation of social welfare administration, inequality and injustice in terms of access to social grants and social welfare spending persisted, with Blacks still being the most marginalised.

Lund, cited in Brockerhoff (2013:22), and Brown and Neku (2005:303) list the following differences in social welfare service delivery among population groups during the apartheid era:

- Whites, Coloureds and Indians received their social grant payments on a monthly basis, while Blacks received their payments after two months;

- Whites, Coloureds and Indians were paid through post offices, while Blacks were paid through various mobile sites;
- White, coloured and Indian pensions were payable from the date of application, while black pensions were payable from the date of approval.

Table 3.1: Social welfare expenditure in South Africa between 1950 and 1990 for different population groups

Population Groups	1950	1976	1990
Whites	61%	56%	23%
Blacks	25%	28%	52%
Coloureds/Indians	14%	16%	24%

Source: Patel (2005:71)

Table 3.1 shows that social welfare expenditure was very high for Whites in the 1950s, despite their small population and high standard of living, to the detriment of other population groups. These social welfare expenditures progressively decreased from 1976 to 1990 for Whites, and inversely increased for other population groups, with Blacks having the highest spending.

Social welfare inequality and unfairness continued until 1994, when apartheid was officially abolished with the establishment of a democratic government led by Nelson Mandela (Potts 2012). The new South African government, together with political activists, religious organisations, community leaders and social workers, were tasked to transform the South African social welfare system into one that would be equal and fair to all population groups, and improve the standard of living of the majority of the population (Potts 2012: 76; Brown & Neku 2005:303).

To legalise social welfare rights for all people living in South Africa, the post-apartheid democratic Constitution, in its section 27 (1), stipulates that everyone has the right to gain access to social security, including, if they are unable to support themselves and their dependents, appropriate social assistance (South

Africa Constitution 1996). Therefore, the new government had the challenge of responding to the mandate of the Constitution, by developing an approach that transformed the existing system into a new system that could serve the population as a whole, based on the circumstances and needs of people (Neves *et al* 2009; Haarmann 2000). The new approach was based on the concept of developmental social welfare, which emphasises the interdependence between social development, economic development and social welfare. This led to the publication, by the Department of Social Welfare in 1997, of the *White Paper on Social Welfare*, which contains policies that target poverty prevention, alleviation and reduction, and emphasises the development of people's capacity to take charge of their own circumstances in a meaningful way (Pauw & Mncube 2007:10).

3.2.2 Different social welfare policies and Acts after 1994

After apartheid, the new democratic government of South Africa, led by the African National Congress (ANC), developed and implemented many social welfare policies, with the main aim of improving the living conditions of the population. Among these social welfare policies are the *Developmental White Paper for Social Welfare* of 1997, the *Social Assistance Act* of 2004, and the *South African Social Security Agency Act* of 2004 (Brockhoff 2013:23). However, before discussing these social welfare policies, it is necessary to highlight two important social development policies that paved the way for the development and implementation of these social welfare policies, namely the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) Strategy (Brockhoff 2013:23; Patel 2005:92).

3.2.2.1 *The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)*

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) is a coherent and integrated socioeconomic policy framework, which was developed in 1994 by the ANC, in consultation with the government, non-governmental

organisations, and research organisations (Brockerhoff 2013:23; Patel 2005:92; Brown & Neku 2005:304). Its original goals were to redress the past imbalances between population groups that resulted from the apartheid regime; establish umbrella legislation to support developmental social welfare based on equality, equity and empowerment; and develop professional standards for the education, training and employment of social service staff (Brown & Neku 2005:304; South Africa 1994:07).

To achieve these goals, the RDP had five key objectives, namely provision for basic needs, development of human resources, building of the economy, democratisation of the state and society, and the implementation of the RDP (Brockerhoff 2013:23; Patel 2005:92; South Africa 1994:09).

- *Provision for basic needs* includes job creation, land reform, health care, nutrition, transport, access to clean water and sanitation, energy supplies, nutrition, social welfare and security. By creating facilities and infrastructure to meet these basic needs, the RDP will encourage and empower people's participation in decision making regarding related projects. This will also stimulate economic growth through an increase in goods and services by producers and consumers (South Africa 1994:9);
- *Development of human resources* through education and training programmes will empower the population to become involved in the decision-making process and implementation of the RDP programme. Therefore, the focus will be on the restructuring of the education system from pre-school upwards, in order to help people from different population groups to maximise their potential, thereby enabling them to improve their living standards and contribute to the country's economic growth (South Africa 1994:9).
- *Building of the economy*, which was in a bad condition and only benefited a small wealthy sector, while the majority of poor people experienced a high level of unemployment, inadequate housing, and poor health. The economy also suffered from barriers to

economic growth such as high proportion of GDP absorbed in consumption expenditure, failing rates of return, low export and high import, and productivity stagnation. RDP is committed to reverse all of these distortions of the economy (South Africa 1994:10);

- *Democratisation of the state and society* will facilitate the establishment of a single public service that provides equitable service to all population groups, and consequently increases efficiency, productivity and accountability, which will enhance the country's socioeconomic development (South Africa 1994:10; O'Malley 1994).
- *Implementation of the RDP* requires the establishment of an effective RDP structure in government at national, provincial and local level, and the setting out of procedures and indicators through which the programme can mobilise the effective participation of a large number of social organisations (South Africa 1994; O'Malley 1994).

The management, funding and monitoring and evaluation of RDP policies and programmes were the responsibility of a special Cabinet committee, coordinated by the Ministry without portfolio. Key projects in sectors such as health, education, land reform, housing, small and medium enterprise development, and public works programmes were identified and targeted, with an initial amount of R 2.5 billion being provided by government departments and international donors between 1994 and 1995 (Patel 2005:92-93).

Despite many efforts made by the cabinet committee, the targeting of many RDP programmes, except housing, was too ambitious, given the poor institutional service delivery, lack of personnel capacity, limited funding, competition among ministers over budget allocations, and higher expectations of government to deliver on its promises. All of these realities and challenges negatively impacted on the successful

implementation of the RDP programmes in terms of reaching their goals and objectives, including economic growth of 4-6 % per annum (Brockerhoff 2013:23; Patel 2005:93).

The failure of RDP policies and programmes to successfully achieve their goals and objectives resulted in the closure of the RDP Ministry and office, and gave rise, in 1996, to a new government macro-economic policy, namely the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy (Patel 2005:93-94).

3.2.2.2 *The Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) Strategy*

The GEAR Strategy, which was adopted in 1996, is the result of the fiscal austerity decision taken by the ANC, in negotiation with its allies, to stabilise the economy and reassure local and international investors by pursuing a conservative macro-economic strategy (Brockerhoff 2013:24; Patel 2005:94). The GEAR strategy is to reduce the national budget deficit that led to general disillusionment with the government, and effectively and efficiently deliver social services, including the RDP. Therefore, unlike the RDP, which counts on government to change things for the better, GEAR focuses on market forces to solve existing problems (Brockerhoff 2013:24). Visser (in Brockerhoff 2013:24) points out that:

The most important difference between the RDP and GEAR was that, while the former expected the state to conduct a people-oriented developmental policy, the latter saw South Africa's economic "salvation" in a high economic growth rate that would result from a sharp increase in private capital accumulation in an unbridled capitalistic system. The government's task in this was to refrain from economic intervention and to concentrate on the necessary adjustments that would create an optimal climate for private investment.

Although social assistance cash transfers, under GEAR, are still the responsibility of government, the left argues that government has moved away from its commitment to social responsibility, including social welfare, by embracing a neo-liberal paradigm. This puts more pressure

on private businesses and economic globalisation to deliver social services (Brockhoff 2013:24, Patel 2005:94). This implies that various social problems faced by poor people, such as poverty, inequality, unemployment and social disintegration, cannot be addressed due to the tension between the RDP and GEAR in the post-apartheid era. The solution resides in promoting equitable and sustainable human development for all; addressing the challenges of the country's apartheid past; industrialising the society and economy; and democratising the country in the global era (Patel 2005:94).

3.2.2.3 *The White Paper for Social Welfare*

Drafted in collaboration with different sectors of South African society and adopted in 1997, the *White Paper for Social Welfare* reflects the principles of the RDP. The main aim is to create social security that helps individuals to improve their personal position and contribute to the economic development and growth of the country (Brockhoff 2013:24). Its mission is to serve and build a self-sustainable South Africa that works in partnership with different stakeholders, through an integrated social welfare system that capitalises on the existing potential, which is sustainably equitable, accessible, people-centered and developmental (South Africa 1997). This can all be made possible through the creation of human capacities and the concept of developmental social welfare, which concerns not only the transfer of the production economy of the country to social welfare, but also to ensure the contribution of social policies to development. A good example of this is equipping unemployed women with children under the age of five with skills that assist them to become economically productive through the labour market (Brockhoff 2013:24).

According to Patel (2005:144), the typology used by Esping-Anderson (1990) between OECD countries cannot be usefully applied in the South African context. In Esping-Anderson's typology, which is based on the classification of the western welfare systems' market-based strategies,

the focus is more on the extent to which social welfare services are free from the market, otherwise known as welfare decommodification (See Chapter Two). All of these countries, despite the negative effects of economic globalisation, have advanced industrial societies with low levels of unemployment and well developed social security systems since the 1800s.

In contrast, South Africa, which is a middle-income country, has a vast disparity in wealth between rich and poor; inequality related to gender, race and geography; a high level of unemployment and poverty; and slow economic growth. The social fabric of society is fragmented and the kinship network faces many socioeconomic challenges, especially due to HIV and AIDS. In addition, the social insurance coverage is limited to the formal sector labour force, hence excluding people working in the informal sector and non-standardised employment. Against this background, it can be argued that the South African social welfare developmental approach is not in line with the typologies of Espind-Anderson and other western-based social welfare systems. However, despite its shortcomings, South African social welfare, with its numerous social assistance programmes, is mostly a decommodified system that targets and selects the poorest and vulnerable individuals (Patel 2005:146).

The developmental approach of the South African *White Paper for Social Welfare* has five main elements, namely the rights-based approach, relationship between economic and social development, democracy and participation, social development partnerships, and the macro and micro divide (South Africa, DSD 2013:14; Lombard 2008: 160; Patel 2005:98).

- *The rights-based approach* pays specific attention to social justice, standard of living conditions, equitable access to services and benefits, and commitment to meeting the basic needs of all South Africans, especially the most disadvantaged in society. This is done in conjunction with the South African Constitution (1996), which guarantees economic, social and cultural rights for

everyone, including social assistance and anti-poverty strategies (South Africa, DSD 2013:14; Patel 2005:98);

- *The relationship between economic and social development* plays an important role in the development process of the country. According to Patel (2005:103), the welfare or development of the population will not be enhanced by economic growth alone, but should be accompanied by social investment in key social sectors that can improve the human development status of the majority of the population. This may include vocational training; skills development; job placement; self-employment for the poor and disadvantaged; creation of micro-businesses, cooperatives and other projects that encourage economic sufficiency; and short-term assistance such as food parcels (South Africa, DSD 2013:14);
- *Democracy and participation* are key elements of the developmental approach to South African social welfare. All South Africans should be given the opportunity to play an active role in the promotion of their own well-being, and to contribute towards the economic development of the country. Therefore, it is important that, in the design and evaluation of social welfare policy, constituencies of welfare and development are consulted in decision making that affects their well-being. Through their participation, government and civil society should be made accountable for their actions (South Africa, DSD 2013:14; Patel 2005:105);
- *Social development partnerships* are very important for the effectiveness of the implementation of developmental social welfare, where each role player brings his/her expertise, skills, adequate resources and commitment towards the achievement of identified goals (South Africa, DSD 2013:15). In the South African social welfare context, the meeting of human needs is a collective national responsibility that requires government, civil society,

corporate social investment and occupational social services to work together in a collaborative partnership (Patel 2005:107);

- Finally, the developmental approach attempts to bridge the divide in service delivery that historically existed between micro interventions (individuals, families and households) and macro interventions (communities and organisations), which led to socioeconomic injustices. The implementation of this element requires the combination of different intervention techniques and methods, as well as the collaboration of social service professionals and sectors, in order to effectively solve the social problems faced by individuals, families and communities (South Africa, DSD 2013:15; Patel 2005:110).

3.2.2.4 *The Committee of Inquiry into a Comprehensive Social Security for South Africa (Taylor Committee)*

Despite the end of apartheid and multiple efforts made by the South African government to improve the socioeconomic conditions of its citizens through various social programmes, including social security, the levels of poverty and inequality among the population still remain high (Makino 2004:01). To deal with this situation, the DDS, in 2001, established the *Committee of Inquiry into a Comprehensive Social Security System*, in order to examine the gaps existing in the democratic South African social security system, and to provide recommendations for the development of a comprehensive system (Guthrie 2002:09). The commission examined social protections issues related to poverty, health, children, unemployment, retirement, and measures for assisting people with special needs (Guthrie 2002:09).

The findings of the report reveal the following: Firstly, despite certain categories of the population being covered by social security programmes, such as poor children, old people, veterans and disabled people, there are still large gaps and inadequacies in the social assistance system, where some categories of people are not covered.

Among them are disabled people who do not meet the strict medical requirements, unemployed people, people living below the poverty line, and non-citizens. Secondly, the contribution-funded and social insurance schemes only cover a relatively small percentage of the population. People working in the informal sector are excluded from the insurance system, and there are inadequacies in terms of internal distribution within the social insurance system, where better paid people receive more benefits compared to the most vulnerable workers. In short, the Committee acknowledged the failure of current social security programmes to satisfy the constitutional imperative with regard to the rights of the population to social protection (Liebenberg 2002:9).

From the findings, the main recommendation of the committee was the introduction of the Basic Income Grant (BIG) for all people living in the country, without applying a means test in order to reduce poverty, and promote human development and sustainable livelihoods (Brockerhoff 2013:26; Strydom *et al* 2006: 231). According to Strydom *et al* (2006:231), the advantage of not having a means test for BIG is that it avoids the pitfalls of the numerous barriers to work inherent in other social assistance systems. The decision was principally based on income poverty, where the committee found that the majority of people were too poor to access basic needs such as food, transport, or clothing. Via the BIG, the state can have time to realise improved income transfers to the poor (Brockerhoff 2013:26; Liebenberg 2002:9). The committee, together with other organisations such as COSATU, proposed the grant to be in the amount of R100 per month for each South African, which means that a person living alone will receive R100 per month, while a family of six will receive R 600 per month (Strydom 2006:231).

Although the BIG was supported with strong motivations by the committee, it was rejected by the government on the grounds that it would be too expensive for the country's economy, and that people should benefit from the rewards of work, in order to avoid a dependency culture. They argued that only the young, disabled and elderly should depend on

grants. Instead, the government decided in 2004 to establish an Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) to absorb a significant number of unemployed people. In 2009, the aim of EPWP was to increase full-year job opportunities to 400 000 over the next five years. The programme was rejected by the Taylor committee, who argued that with the high rate of unemployment, public works programmes would be unable to create enough jobs (Brockhoff 2013:26-27).

3.2.2.5 *Social Assistance Act and South African Social Security Agency Act*

The *Social Assistance Act of 2004*, which replaced the 1992 Act, regulates social assistance in South Africa. It has the following objectives: to provide for the administration and payment of social grants; to make provision for social assistance and determine the qualification requirement; to ensure the minimum norms required for service delivery are adhered to; and to provide for the establishment of a social assistance inspectorate. The Act also determines the types of social grants offered in South Africa, which includes the CSG, older person's grant, dependency grant, DG, war veteran grant, foster grant, and grant-in-aid, as well as the criteria for eligibility (South Africa 1992; South Africa 2004a). Social grants are explained in detail in the following section.

The *Social Assistance Act* of 2004 abandoned the idea of BIG, but extended the CSG through the *Regulations to the Social Assistance Act* (Brockhoff 2013:27). According to Brockhoff (2013:27), the *Social Assistance Act of 2004* did not change the social assistance system, but instead expanded the existing system.

Although the government rejected the idea of BIG, it accepted one of the Taylor committee's recommendations with regard to the centralisation of social security administration in one agency (Brockhoff 2013:26-27). This resulted in the creation of SASSA in 2004 as the sole agent, under the DSD, responsible for the management, administration and payment

of social assistance (South Africa 2004b:06). The national DSD focused more on the development and review of social policy and monitoring of service delivery (Van Der Berg *et al* 2009:21). Prior to the establishment of SASSA, the management, administration and payment of social assistance were the responsibility of national and provincial DSD. The national department was in charge of policies and administration of social assistance, while provincial departments were in charge of service delivery and payment of social grants (Van Der Berg *et al* 2009:20-21).

Social assistance service delivery differed between provinces, and was generally characterised by inefficiency, unskilled staff, corruption and fraud, as well as the fragmentation of services (Brockerhoff 2013:26-27).

Since its establishment, SASSA tried to combat fraud, by cleaning up its recipient records. It introduced, in conjunction with the DSD and the Special Investigation Unit, regular audits of the social pension system (SOCPEN), which yielded substantial results. For example, in 2008, 21 588 illegal government employees were removed from the system and subjected to disciplinary action (Van Der Berg *et al* 2009:21). In addition, there was an increase in the number of social grant beneficiaries from 2 889 443 in April 1997 to 16 991 634 at the end of the 2015/16 financial year (SASSA 2012a; SASSA 2016a), as well as an increase in government social assistance expenditure. For example, in the 2015/2016 financial year, the government spent more than 128 billion on social grants, representing 3.2% of the GDP of the country, and making South Africa one of the countries with the highest expenditure on social assistance in the world (South Africa National Treasury 2016:64; Potts 2012:75).

3.2.3 South African social grants

South African social grant programmes, which are managed and administered by SASSA, comprise the CSG, old age grant, DG, foster care grant, grant in aid,

care dependency grant, war veteran's grant, and Social Relief of Distress (SROD).

3.2.3.1 *Child Support Grant (CSG)*

The CSG was introduced in 1998 following the recommendations of the Lund Committee to replace the State Maintenance Grant, which was functioning poorly. The decision was made to ensure that the grant would be available for children from birth onwards, and to support early childhood development (Heinrich, Hoddinott & Samson 2012). The CSG is the second largest grant in the country, and assists poor families with children up to the age of eighteen (Potts 2012:79). The main objectives of this grant are to enable poor households to meet the costs of raising their children, redistribute income, influence birth rates, and alleviate child poverty (Delany, ZIsmail, Graham & Ramkissoo 2008:01). In order to be eligible to apply for and receive the CSG, a person must be the primary caregiver of the child, and must be a South African citizen, permanent resident, or refugee. A caregiver who is not a biological parent of the child must provide proof of their primary caregiver status, which can be in the form of either an affidavit from the biological parent of the child or a police official, or a social worker's report, or a letter from the child's school principal. Both the primary caregiver and the child must live in South Africa. Children must not be in a state institution, and non-biological primary caregivers cannot apply for more than six children. To qualify for the CSG, the applicant must meet the requirements of the means test, which is an income of not more than R42 000 per annum (R3 500 per month) for a single person, and not more than R84 000 per annum (R7 000 per month) for the applicant and his/her spouse's combined income. The value of the CSG in 2016 was R350 per month (Kelly 2016). Since the introduction of the CSG in 1998, there has been a significant increase in the number of recipients and budget allocated for CSG each year, due to the extension of the age of eligibility, as well as the high levels of poverty and unemployment among caregivers (Potts 2012:79).

In 2016, the number of CSG beneficiaries reached 11 972 900, with a total expenditure of R47 308 536 379 (SASSA 2016a:26).

The CSG has a significant socioeconomic impact on the livelihoods of households, including the children as primary beneficiaries of the grant. A study conducted by the DSD, SASSA and UNICEF in 2009 on the socioeconomic impact of the CSG indicated that the CSG is mostly used by primary caregivers for food for the whole household, due to the poverty and unemployment of household members. It is also used for the education of children, clothing, health care and transportation. This has a significant impact on the early life, schooling and cognitive skills of children, which helps them to develop their human capabilities from pre-school up to high school, and to then enter the labour market or business world with confidence. In addition, the CSG prevents children from dropping out of school and engaging in child labour or risky behaviour, especially for girls, such as sex work, in order to contribute to household expenditure. This risky behaviour puts their health and well-being at serious risk (DSD, SASSA & UNICEF 2012: II-IV).

There is evidence of an increase in teenage pregnancy for the purpose of gaining access to the CSG and becoming financially independent from the household (Potts 2012; Van Der Berg *et al* 2009:35). This concern was raised by former President Jacob Zuma during his political campaign, when he indicated that young women often abuse the social grant system by either intentionally becoming pregnant, or leaving their children in the care of their grandmothers or families, while they use the CSG for their own needs, such as alcohol, gambling or shopping (Potts 2012). However, there is counterevidence which suggests that CSG beneficiaries between the ages of 15 and 19 years represent only 5%, and account for only 18% of all mothers who receive grants (Rosenberg *et al* 2015:2; Patel 2013:35; Van Der Berg *et al* 2009:35). In addition, teenage pregnancies have consistently decreased since the first half of the 1990s (Patel 2013:05).

3.2.3.2 *Old age grant*

The old age grant in South Africa is a non-contributory benefit available for South Africans, permanent residents and refugees living in South Africa. Women aged 60 and over, and men aged 65 and over, are eligible for this grant. The grant is subject to a means test of the applicant and his/her spouse's incomes, and includes other conditions. For example, the applicant should not be maintained or cared for in a state institution, or be a recipient of any other social grant (Brockerhoff 2013:28; Potts 2012; Pauw & Mncube 2007:15). The old age pension was introduced in South Africa in 1928 through the Old Age Pension Act 22 of 1928 for Whites and Coloureds only, which was in line with the racist policies at that time. The pension aimed at motivating people, especially families, to care for the elderly, as opposed to securing the economic freedom of the elderly. In 1944, through the *Pensions Laws Amendment Bill*, the old age pension was extended to all South Africans, but with racial differences in the payment of the pension grant, which favoured Whites more than the other races. Blacks received the baseline rate. It was only in 1993 that the old age grant was deracialised, so that all races qualifying for the old age grant received the same amount (Wachipa 2006:07).

The old age grant is the second largest grant in terms of number of beneficiaries, but the largest grant in terms of expenditure, representing 37% of all South African social assistance expenditure, which equates to approximately 1.4% of GDP (Potts 2012:85). Since the de-racialisation of social assistance in South Africa, there has been a consistent increase in the number of old age grant beneficiaries and the budget allocated to it. The number of beneficiaries increased from 1.8 million in 2000 to 3.2 million in 2016, with an increase in expenditure from R21.2 billion in 2006/07 to R53.1 billion in 2015/16 (SASSA 2016a:26; Sekhampu & Grobler 2011:43). The value of the old age grant in 2016 was R1 510 for old people under the age of 75, and R1 530 for old people aged 75 and above (SASSA 2016a).

The old age grant plays an important role in income sustainability of poor and vulnerable households (Sekhampu & Grobler 2011:43). With the high levels of poverty and unemployment in South Africa, the old age grant does not only benefit old people, but also contributes to household expenditure (Raniga & Simpson 2011:76; Potts 2012). In their study, Ardington and Lund (cited in Sekhampu & Grobler 2011:43) found that the old age pension reaches poor households, contributes economically to the welfare of poor children, and improves the health conditions of all household members. This grant often supports the entire household for food purchases and education, and less often for alcohol, tobacco and entertainment. Some scholars argue that the old age grant creates a network of dependency, in which the entire household is dependent on it. Statistics show that for every grandmother receiving an old age grant, more than 20 people are supported through this grant (Potts 2012).

3.2.3.3 *Disability grant (DG)*

The DG is the third largest non-contributory social grant in South Africa, and is provided to adults with disabilities, including people living with HIV/AIDS who are unable to work, support themselves and supplement the income of their households (Knight, Hosegood & Timæus 2013:135; De Paoli, Mills & Grønningsæter 2012:2; Van Der Berg, Siebrits & Lekezwa 2009:34; Whitworth & Noble 2008: 249). According to De Paoli *et al* (2012:02), its aim is to assist households that have a low income, with many children and unemployed adults who have been excluded for a long period from the labour force. It is the only social grant from which adults of working age can benefit in the South African social welfare system (Wright 2015:02).

There are two types of DG benefits, namely permanent DG and temporary DG. Permanent DG is for people who have a continuous disability that lasts for a period greater than 12 months, and ends when they qualify for an old age pension. Temporary DG is for people who have a disability that prevents them from working for a period of six to twelve

months (Knight *et al* 2013:135; Mitra 2010:1693). To qualify for a DG, applicants should meet certain criteria, such as being a South African citizen, permanent resident or refugee living in South Africa; being between 18 and 59 years old; submitting a medical or assessment report of not more than three months old, which confirms the applicant's disability; the applicant and spouse meeting the requirements of a means test; the applicant not being maintained in a state institution, and not receiving another social grant (Mitra 2010:1693). The criteria for assessing disability in order to qualify for a DG vary between provinces - some provinces rely on assessments made by medical doctors, while others make use of an "assessment panel" comprised of social workers, medical doctors and experts in disability assessments. Generally, for people living with HIV/AIDS, they should have a CD4 count below 200 cells/mm³ or be in clinical stage 4 of AIDS (De Paoli *et al* 2012:1; Van Der Berg, Siebrits & Lekezwa 2009: 34).

From 1998 to 2016, the number of DG beneficiaries increased from 660 528 to 1 085 541, with an increase in total expenditure from R14.261 billion in 2006/07 to R19.166 billion in 2015/16. These increases were mainly due to an escalating number of AIDS patients who qualified for the grant (SASSA 2016a:26; Van Der Berg, Siebrits & Lekezwa 2009:06; Haasbroek 2009:54). Currently, the DG benefit per month is R1 510 (SASSA 2016b). To help improve the health status of people living with HIV/AIDS, the government regularly provides them with Highly Active Anti-Retroviral Treatment (HAART). However, given the high unemployment rate in the country, some DG beneficiaries prefer to discontinue HAART, which deteriorates their health, in order to remain eligible for grants (Van Der Berg, Siebrits & Lekezwa 2009:34).

Like the other social grants, DG is one of the most effective social policies for alleviating poverty in South Africa. It contributes significantly to the income of many poor South African households, including those affected by HIV and AIDS (De Paoli *et al* 2012:2; Patel 2005:130; Potts 2012:84-85; Nattrass 2005:31). According to Nattrass (2005:31), DG is an

important source of income for households affected by AIDS in South Africa. The survey conducted in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, revealed that about 8% of households receive a DG, which contributes to 52% of the total income of these households. Therefore, the cancellation of a DG has a serious impact on the living standards of the beneficiaries (Nattrass 2005:31). The DG is spent mostly on funeral policy scheme debts, medical treatment, and care of ill household members, including transport, food, school fees of children, and clothes (Phaswana-Mafuya, Peltzer & Petros 2009:547).

Despite the impact that DG has on the poverty alleviation of poor households, Potts (2012:85) argues that the DG exacerbates the poverty of the beneficiaries, as it provides them with a hand-out rather a hand-up, and offers perverse benefits that motivate DG beneficiaries to undeservingly benefit from the system. Research conducted by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE) revealed that many disabled people in South Africa are in poor households with low education levels. Therefore, developmental welfare, including skill development programmes, is needed to address the socioeconomic conditions of this category of people (Patel 2005:130).

3.2.3.4 *Grant in Aid*

This social grant is considered to be an addition to another social grant, such as a DG, old age grant, or war veterans' grant, in cases where the applicant is in need of a full-time care worker due to his/her physical or mental disabilities. Its aim is to assist in covering the cost of a full-time care worker (Brockerhoff 2013:29). To qualify for this grant, the applicant must be a recipient of an old age grant, DG, or war veterans' grant, and need the assistance of another person due to his/her physical or mental disabilities. Furthermore, he/she must not be cared for by an institution that receives funds from the State for the care or housing of such beneficiary (SASSA 2016b).

From 1998 to 2016, the number of Grant in Aid beneficiaries increased from 9 183 to 137 806, and the total state expenditure increased from R137.806 million in 2006/07 to R503.080 million in 2015/16 (SASSA 2016a:26; Van Der Berg, Siebrits & Lekezwa 2009:06). The monthly amount of Grant in Aid received by the recipients in 2016 was R350 (SASSA 2016b).

3.2.3.5 *Care dependency grant*

This social grant is for children under 18 years who are living with a severe disability, and it can be turned into a DG when the recipient is 18 years old. Like a DG, a medical report from a doctor attesting to the severe disability of the child, as well as the need for full-time and special care, is required to qualify for this grant (Brockerhoff 2013:30; South Africa 2016a). The other criteria include the recipient being a South African citizen, permanent resident or refugee living in South Africa; the applicant and spouse meeting the means test requirements, except for foster parents, whose income should not exceed R180 000 a year for a single person, or a combined income for a married couple of not more than R360 000 a year; and the recipient should not be permanently cared for by a State institution (SASSA 2016b; South Africa 2016a).

Like the above social grants, the number of care dependency grant beneficiaries and the State expenditure on the grant also increases every year. From 1998 to 2016, the number of care dependency grant beneficiaries increased from 8172 to 131 040, and the total state expenditure increased from R1 billion in 2006/07 to R2.394 billion in 2015/16 (SASSA 2016a:26; Van Der Berg, Siebrits & Lekezwa 2009:6). The monthly care dependency grant amount paid to the beneficiaries in 2016 was R1 510 (SASSA 2016b).

3.2.3.6 *War veterans grant (WVG)*

This grant is provided to veterans and people who were part of the South African Army, and who fought or helped (e.g. medical services) in the First World War (1914-1918) and Second World War (1939-1945), or the Korean War (1950-1953), and who are not able to support themselves (South Africa 2016b; Black Sash 2016; Brockerhoff 2013:29). To qualify for this grant, the applicant must be 60 years or older, and a South African citizen or permanent resident living in South Africa. The applicant must provide identity documents and a marriage certificate, if applicable. In addition, proof must be provided of war services and income. Lastly, the applicant must not be maintained or cared for in a public or state institution, and should not be receiving another social grant (SASSA 2016b; Black Sash 2016). In cases of need, both the assets and income of the applicant should be assessed through a means test (Black Sash 2016). In 2016, the asset threshold was R990 000 for a single person and R1 980 000 for a married person. The annual income threshold was R69 000 for a single person and R138 000 for a married person. Individuals involved in the struggle for democracy in the country or in any other conflicts are not eligible for this grant, but may get access to financial support from the Special Pension (SASSA 2016c).

Unlike the above social grants, the number of WVG beneficiaries has consistently decreased since 1994. From 1998 to 2016, the number of WVG beneficiaries decreased from 10 525 to 245, and state expenditure decreased from R25 million in 2006/07 to R4.8 million in 2015/16 (SASSA 2016a:26; Van Der Berg, Siebrits & Lekezwa 2009:6). These decreases are probably due to the death of most of the beneficiaries. In 2016, the monthly amount paid to WVG recipients was R1 530 (SASSA 2016b).

3.2.3.7 *Foster child grant (FCG)*

The FCG is the monthly income that the government provides to adults to cover the costs of raising a foster child under their care. A foster child

is a child who has been placed in custody by a court order, because of being abused, abandoned, orphaned, at risk or neglected (South Africa 2016). To qualify for a FCG, the applicant must be a South African citizen, permanent resident or refugee; the applicant and the child must be living in South Africa; the child must be under the age of 18 and be legally placed and remain under the care of the applicant (South Africa 2016c).

The number of FCG beneficiaries increased from 43 520 in 1998 to 470 015 in 2016, and the total government expenditure increased from R 2.851 billion in 2006/07 to R 5.406 billion in 2015/16 (SASSA 2016a:26; Van Der Berg, Siebrits & Lekezwa 2009:06). The monthly value of the foster child grant is relatively high compared to the CSG, due to the fact that it seeks to pay back the non-parents for taking care of a vulnerable child or children. It also creates an incentive for foster parents, rather than putting children in the care of a state institution. The challenge associated with the foster care grant is that in the social circumstances of South Africa, such as high mortality rates due to AIDS-related diseases, there are over 1.6 million orphans in South Africa who are battling to get access to this programme. This has overburdened social workers, siblings and courts. Because of this high number of orphaned children, it is unlikely that the FCG is sufficient and alternative grant provisions should be considered (Brockhoff 2013:29).

3.2.3.8 *Social Relief of Distress (SROD)*

Social relief of distress is a temporary social assistance grant provided to individuals who are unable, due to unforeseen circumstances, to meet their families' most basic needs (SASSA 2016b; Brockhoff 2013:30). The grants are provided on a monthly basis for a period of three months, which can be extended to six months, depending on the case, and can be in the form of cash or in-kind (e.g. food parcel or voucher for food or transport) (SASSA 2016b). To qualify for this grant, the applicant must be a South African citizen, permanent resident or refugee living in South

Africa who does not have sufficient means, and meets one or more of the following criteria:

- Is waiting for an approved social grant;
- Is a victim of a crisis or disaster (e.g. burning of house);
- Is unable to work for less than six months due to illness;
- Breadwinner is dead or has been admitted to an institution funded by the State (e.g. prison, hospital, rehabilitation centre) for less than six months;
- No maintenance is received from the parent of the child (SASSA 2016b).

Although the Relief of Distress grant is part of the South African Social Assistance Act, it is often not covered in SASSA's statistical publications, and is ignored in some social assistance debates and assessments (Brockhoff 2013:30). However, the SASSA annual report for 2015/2016 revealed an increase in total state expenditure on Relief of Distress from R41 million in 2006/07 to R407 million in 2015/16 (SASSA 2016b).

Table 2.2: Number of social grant beneficiaries from 1998 to 2016

Grant type	1998	2003	2008	2013	2016
Child support	-	2,022,206	8,208,334	11,341,988	11,972,900
Old age	1,697,725	2,009,419	2,225,354	2,873,197	3,194,087
Disability	660,528	953,965	1,409,434	1,164,192	1,085,541
Grant in Aid	9,183	12,787	37,343	73,719	137,806
Care Dependency	8,172	58,140	110,153	120,268	131,040
War Veteran	10,525	4,594	1,931	587	245
Foster Child	43,520	138,763	446,994	532,159	470,015
Total	2,429,653	5,199,874	12,439,543	16,106,110	16,991,634
Growth		114.02%	139.23%	29.48%	5.50%

Sources: SASSA (2016a); Van Der Berg, Siebrits & Lekezwa (2009:06)

Table 3.3: State social grant expenditure from 2006 to 2016

Grant type	2006-2007	2009-2010	2012-2013	2015-2016
Old Age	21,222,000,000	29,826,420,000	40,475,021,000	53,132,206,342
WVG	25,000,000	16,644,000	9,543,000	4,843,209
Disability	14,261,000,000	16,566,681,000	17,636,570,000	19,165,931,340
Foster child	2,851,000,000	4,434,346,000	5,335,049,000	5,406,785,714
Care Dependency	1,006,000,000	1,434,143,000	1,877,412,000	2,394,455,743
Child Support	17,559,000,000	26,669,761,000	38,087,990,000	47,308,536,379
Grant in Aid	67,000,000	146,295,000	237,974,000	503,080,357
Relief of distress	41,000,000	165,458,000	239,289,000	407,015,691
Total	R 57,032,000,000	R 79,259,748,000	R 103,898,848,000	R 128,322,854,775
Growth		38.97	31.09	23.51

Source: SASSA (2016a:26)

From the above, it can be argued that since the end of apartheid, South African social assistance grants have been delivered equally to all eligible beneficiaries, irrespective of the colour of their skin (Jelsma, Maart, Eide, Toni & Loeb 2008:1139). The number of beneficiaries, except for war veteran and DGs, has steadily increased over the years. From 1998 to 2016, the total number of social grant beneficiaries has increased from 2 429 653 to 16 991 634, with a growth rate of 600% in a period of 18 years. This increase has also had a direct effect on the state's total expenditure on social grants, which increases each year. For example, from 2006/07 to 2015/16, the expenditure increased from R57,032 billion to R128,323 billion in 2015/16, with a growth rate of 125% over 10 years (SASSA 2016a:26; Van Der Berg, Siebrits & Lekezwa 2009). These increases are generally attributed to the improvement of social grant administration by SASSA, which is based on the quality of service delivery, and the fight against corruption and fraud by certain officials (SASSA 2016a). Another reason for these increases is the high demand for social grants, such as CSGs, old age grants, and DGs, due to the high levels of unemployment and HIV/AIDS in the country (SASSA 2016a; Van Der Berg, Siebrits & Lekezwa 2009:6; Haasbroek

2009:54). The South African government's expenditure on social grants is explained in detail in section 3.27 of this chapter.

3.2.4 Social assistance and poverty alleviation in South Africa

Social grants, especially old age, DGs and CSGs, play an important role in the reduction of poverty in many South African households, irrespective of which poverty lines are used (Leubolt 2014:30; Patel 2013:9; Jacobs, Ngcobo, Hart & Baipheti 2010:2; Cross & Seager 2010:144; Van Der Berg *et al* 2009:30). According to Cross and Seager (2010:144), social grants have saved many poor households from destitution, hunger and even potential homelessness. They contribute up to 50% of the household income and prevent households from falling into poverty. With the social grants received, the beneficiaries, together with their households, are able to satisfy their basic needs of education, food, clothing, transport and shelter, which helps them to improve their health and living conditions (Patel 2013:9; Jacobs, Ngcobo, Hart & Baipheti 2010:2; Van Der Berg *et al* 2009:30-32).

Social grants also help in the reduction of inequality, especially between men and women (Patel 2013:10). According to Lund, cited in Van Der Berg *et al* (2009:32), women make use of the grants more effectively than men - there are improvements in family health and other living conditions when the recipient is a women. Without social grants, income inequality between individuals would be much higher (Patel 2013:10).

The impact of social grants and other benefits received by many individuals through government social spending has captivated the attention of the World Bank, which indicated, in its 2014 report, that around 3.6 million people in South Africa have been lifted out of poverty, thereby halving the number of poor South Africans living on less than \$ 1.25 a day, and dropping the poverty rate from 46% to 39% (Daily Maverick 2015).

However, despite the poverty reduction impact experienced by many households in the post-apartheid era, income poverty continues to remain high,

with 39% of households living below the poverty line of R419 per month (Patel 2013:9). This requires the government to double its efforts to achieve its 2030 national development goals in terms of the total elimination of poverty of citizens from 39% to zero, and a reduction in the Gini coefficient from 0.69 to 0.6 (South Africa, Dept of The Presidency 2012:24).

3.2.5 Social assistance and households affected by HIV and AIDS in South Africa

South Africa is one of the countries in the world most affected by HIV and AIDS. Despite the government's multiple efforts to fight the disease through various HIV/AIDS programmes, South Africa is still the country with the highest number of people living with HIV and AIDS in the world. The figure is estimated at 7.1 million, with an adult HIV prevalence rate of 19.2% (UNAIDS 2018). Over the last three decades, many South Africans have lost their lives due to AIDS-related diseases. For example, in 2009, about 314 000 South Africans died from AIDS-related diseases (South Africa, Dept. of Health 2010:56). The majority of people succumbing to AIDS-related diseases are between 15 and 45 years old, the age group where most people are workers and/or parents (UNAIDS 2015). These deaths have an obvious negative effect on the labour force and economic development of the country, due to the loss of skilled people (Education and Training Unit 2007).

Many households in South Africa are vulnerable to HIV and AIDS, which affect them socially and economically, and which constitute the main cause of the higher morbidity and mortality rates among them. According to Statistics South Africa (2016) and Twalo and Seager (2005), many households affected by HIV and AIDS face the financial burden of caring for and paying the medical costs and funeral expenses of members living with HIV and AIDS. The increase in expenditure on health care and funerals often comes at the same time as the loss of income from the patients, thereby bringing poverty into households, who are unable to afford adequate health care, food, or education (Hosegood,

Preston-White, Busza, Moitse, & Timaeus 2007:1252; Loewenson, Hadingham & Whiteside 2009; Shackleton & Shackleton 2012).

To build resilience to the shocks and stresses that they face, many households seek assistance from the government, extended families, neighbours or the community in the form of social grants and in-kind. Sometimes, able household members, including children, who have to drop out of school, become involved in casual work or agriculture to provide their households with basic needs, such as food, shelter, and health care (Tshoose 2010).

Social grants have been found to be crucial in reducing poverty and mitigating the socioeconomic impact of the HIV and AIDS epidemic (Van Der Berg *et al* 2009; Booysen & Van Der Berg 2005; Samson *et al* 2004). According to Booysen and Van Der Berg (2005:551), grant income contributes to 26% of the total income of households affected by HIV and AIDS in South Africa, which has a significant impact on the support of poor affected households. A large portion of the social grant income is spent on food, education and health, including funeral costs, especially for those experiencing morbidity and mortality (Tshoose 2010; Booysen & Van Der Berg 2005; Samson *et al* 2004). According to Tshoose (2010:15), poor households who receive social grants suffer less malnutrition than those who do not receive them, and are able to access public services such as hospitals, clinics and schools. In this way, social grants, such as the DG and old age grants, facilitate social reciprocity and mutual support systems. Therefore, these grants empower marginalised household members, such as disabled or ill, to contribute to household expenditure.

Moreover, the majority of households who are social grant beneficiaries tend to live in communities that have access to other types of social assistance, such as informal settlements or rural areas, where residents can benefit from RDP houses, clinics and agricultural development (Jacobs, Ngcobo, Hart & Baipheti 2010:2).

3.2.6 Social assistance and the dependency culture in South Africa

With the South African Constitution ensuring income security for all people living in the country, there is widespread concern that social grants have reached a point of unsustainability, and that the expansion of social assistance to all races since the end of apartheid has resulted in an increased number of beneficiaries who depend on cash transfers from the State. This has a tendency to weaken work motivation and create a dependency culture among the recipients (Sinyolo, Mudhara & Wale 2016:155; Potts 2012:75; Surender, Noble, Wright & Ntshongwana 2010:203). The ANC, the ruling political party, is among the many adversaries of the country's social grant system, since it creates a dependency culture among the beneficiaries. At its 52nd national conference, it publicly condemned the policy, and instead suggested the creation of exit programmes that capacitate individuals to empower themselves (Potts 2012:75). The undesirable dependency culture often occurs when social assistance incentives discourage the recipients from participating in economic activities such as farming (Sinyolo *et al* 2016:154). Sinyola *et al* (2016:155) indicate that many studies found a negative relationship between social grants and work or economic activities. These studies argue that social grants, which are unearned income, often create disincentives for beneficiaries to undertake economic activities and earn a living.

Potts (2012) supports this view, but argues that the dependency culture in South Africa varies among social grants. Social grants such as the CSG, although small, is ultimately serving its purpose of removing barriers for children to access basic needs such as school, food and clothing. On the other hand, disability and old age pension grants create a dependency culture which disincentives beneficiaries from seeking employment or creating economic activities for themselves. In terms of the DG, the General Household Survey (GHS) conducted in 2008 found that the average ages of DG recipients in South Africa is between 48.5 and 42 years. In light of this, it is concluded that the majority of DG beneficiaries in South Africa start receiving this grant at a much younger age, and therefore benefit from and depend on the grant for their long-term income, rather than joining the labour market, where they receive less of a DG.

Another fact is that as the DG is a temporary grant based on the continual assessment by disabled experts and medical doctors, this causes some DG recipients to feign their disability, in order to continue receiving the grant. Lastly, the GHS found that DG recipients in South Africa are three times more illiterate than non-recipients. This suggests that they face tough challenges in terms of competing in the labour market, which discourages them from seeking employment, and leads to their dependence on social grants (Potts 2012:84-85).

With regard to the old age pension grant, Potts (2012) argues that because it is the largest social grant in terms of state expenditure, and due to mass unemployment, the recipients of this grant are often the only contributors to the household income, and therefore support the whole family. This assumes that this grant plays an important role in closing the gap between poor households who have access to a wage income, and those who do not. According to Lombard and Kruger (2009), the statistics show that every old age pension grant received by a recipient supports at least 20 people in South Africa. This means that although the grant reinforces families' support systems and reduces poverty, it also conversely creates a dependency culture among family members (Potts 2012:85).

Other scholars, however, are opposed to the view that South African social grants weaken work motivation and encourage a dependency culture among the beneficiaries (Ferreira 2015; Surender, Noble, Wright & Ntshongwana 2010; Hassen 2009; Noble, Ntshongwana & Surender 2008). Research conducted by the Southern Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU) shows that there is little empirical evidence to confirm that people who are receiving social grants are not motivated to look for jobs. This was supported by the Centre for Social Development in Africa (CSDA), which indicates that the majority of social grant recipients do not want to be dependent on cash transfers from the government, and are extremely motivated to look for jobs, in order to get out of the welfare system as soon as possible (Ferreira 2015).

The study conducted by Surrender *et al* (2010:276) with employed and unemployed people regarding the relationship between grant receipt and paid employment in South Africa revealed that all respondents placed a high value on paid employment, and agreed that work gives more dignity to people. Unemployed respondents indicated that their joblessness had not become normalised, and they were in fact more motivated than before to get a job. The evidence of this is clearly demonstrated in the widespread economic migration of people to big cities in search of work.

According to Noble and Ntshongwana (2008:06), the main reason for people's reduced chances of finding employment in South Africa is not because of the characteristics and arrangement of the social grant system, but rather because of the structural conditions of the labour market and the complexity of the economy, which requires more skills and a higher level of education from job applicants.

3.2.7 State expenditure on social grants

Since the end of apartheid, the country has experienced a consistent increase in the number of social grants beneficiaries, which has an impact on government spending. Over the past twenty years, the number of social grant beneficiaries increased from 4 million in 1994 to about 16.9 million in 2015/16 (Ferreira 2015). This situation is a concern for many politicians, including socioeconomic scholars, who warn that the number of social grant beneficiaries is not sustainable. Among them is Jacob Zuma, the former South African President, who argues that the government cannot continue to sustain the growing number of social grant beneficiaries (Ferreira 2015). Each year, the government has to increase its budget for social grants by an average of R10 billion. For example, between the financial years 2006/07 and 2015/16, government spending on social grants increased from R57,032 billion to R128,323 billion, which constitutes a 125% increase in the past ten years (SASSA 2016a:26). Furthermore, over the next three years, namely from 2016 to 2019, the government is planning to spend about R457.5 billion on social grants, making

it among the 10 top countries in the world in terms of their expenditure on social grants in relation to their GDP (South Africa National Treasury 2016).

This consistent increase in state spending on social grants becomes an economic challenge for the government to overcome in the long-term, given the global economic crisis that the country is facing. The government has to think about new strategies to deal with the situation. For instance, it has to decide whether to increase taxes, or cut state spending by curbing social grants. The Minister of Finance, Nhlanhla Nene, in his 2014 Mid-Term budget speech, warned that it is now the time for tightening the country's financial belt (Davis 2015).

Mabugu and Chitiga-Mabugu (2013) argue that the longer-term fiscal imperative to limit future growth of social grant spending is unfounded, because the findings of their study show that the grants system is currently not a threat to fiscal sustainability. Instead, it combats poverty among vulnerable social groups, such as children and elderly people. According to them, the growth in social spending is driven mostly by changes in the social grants policy, such as the increase in age eligibility for the CSG, and the value of the grants over time, as well as growing take-up rates of eligible beneficiaries. They also argue that social grants are not only consumption expenditure used to enhance equity, but also help to promote production efficiency and human capital, which will benefit the country's economy in the long-term, as more skilled people will contribute to the country's economic growth.

Furthermore, Mabugu and Chitiga-Mabugu (2013) suggest that while government pursues political fiscal prudence, it should not cut social grant spending, but rather combine it with the improvement of the public education and health systems, including job creation. This will help to eventually make social grants unnecessary, and this will become a permanent feature of the country's landscape.

3.2.8 Gaps in the South African social assistance system

Despite targeting and benefiting poor individuals and households in the country, the post-apartheid social assistance system, which was designed to cover all of the needy people living in South Africa, including the marginalised, reaches only a small section of the population. Among them are those who are too old (old age grant), too young (CSG), too sick (DG), and family caretakers (FCG) (Leubolt 2014:12; Nattrass 2006:1; Simchowitz 2004:4). Other categories of the population, such as unemployed and chronically ill people, who fail to meet the DG requirements, are excluded from grant benefits, despite the constitutional provision that everyone should be entitled to social security (Leubolt 2014; Brockerhoff 2013; Van Der Berg *et al* 2009; Frye 2008; Triegaardt n.d.). Some of the gaps encountered in the South African social assistance system are discussed below.

3.2.8.1 *Income support for unemployed people*

The large number of people who are excluded from South African social grants are unemployed “able bodied” poor people between the ages of 19 and 59 years. The South African social grants system does not provide any sort of social assistance to this category of people (Brockerhoff 2013:33; Van Der Berg *et al* 2009:32). The main reason for this is that social grants system targets only “vulnerable and deserving poor”. Poverty within this age group is considered to be the individual’s fault, where people fail to take responsibility for their own well-being. Therefore, they are not regarded as vulnerable or poor deserving people (Brockerhoff 2013:33). This dangerous theory does not take into account that the majority of these people were victims of the apartheid regime policy, which did not allow them to benefit from quality education to enable them to compete in the labour market, which requires certain skill characteristics (Triegaardt n.d.:06). As structural poverty is very high in the country, people in this age group will have difficulty finding a decent job, and thus generating income for their family through work or social grants (Brockerhoff 2013:33).

Klasen and Woolard, cited in Van Der Berg *et al* (2009:32), argue that unemployment in South Africa persists within the 18 to 59 age group, due to the fact that the majority of people in this age group have a low propensity to set up their own households. Instead, they prefer to attach themselves to households that have at least one social grant, such as an old age pension grant, in order to get access to resources. This may have an adverse effect on household income, in a sense that when resources are stretched too far, some households are plunged into poverty. However, they still defend the unemployed people, by arguing that searching for employment sometimes costs a lot, which prevents some of them from obtaining decent work.

As the BIG policy discussed earlier was rejected by the government due to its high cost, and as it facilitates the creation of a dependency culture, the government has put in place certain socioeconomic programmes through which 18 to 59 year olds can get access to a form of social assistance. The EPWP, whose main objective is to provide short-term employment opportunities to unemployed “able body” people, is among these government socioeconomic programmes. However, since its implementation in 2004, it has struggled to provide enough job opportunities to a large number of unemployed people in the country. Another problem is that due to its short-term employment aspect, many beneficiaries return to poverty when their contract with the programme ends (Leubolt 2014: 9-10; Brockerhoff 2013:34; Nattrass 2006:13).

3.2.8.2 *Income support for chronically ill people*

Chronically ill people in South Africa do not automatically qualify for social grants, such as the DG. As previously discussed, the applicant, in order to qualify for such grants, should submit a medical or assessment report that indicates that he/she is physically or mentally unfit to work (Simchowitz 2004:4). People who are chronically ill, such as in advanced stages of AIDS or TB, are provided with a temporary DG for 6 or 12

months. This grant is cancelled when the health condition of the recipient has improved, irrespective of whether he or she has found a job or other means of income. As the improvement of the health conditions of people living with HIV and AIDS is linked to having access to medication and following a certain diet, cancelling the recipient's social grant benefit will lead to a further deterioration of his or her health, which can ultimately result in death (Brockerhoff 2013:34).

Another problem is the assessment tool for disability, which is not coherent and uniform in all provinces. SASSA applies these tools differently in the different provinces, in a sense that some people who are functionally ill are denied their right to a DG. Most of them need social grants to meet their needs of food, for good nutrition; health care, in order to be able to take medication; and transport, in order to go to the clinic. Some SASSA officials wait until a person become so ill before they register him or her for a DG (De Waal 2011). According to Black Sash, there are currently more than 65,000 functionally disabled people without social grants in South Africa. Despite many complaint appeals by Black Sash, the DSD has still failed to clear the massive backlog of these appeals (De Waal 2011).

3.3 CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES IN SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa has millions of people who need to learn new skills to improve their chances of being competitive in the labour market. Some are illiterate or semi-skilled unemployed people, who are victims of the apartheid educational system, some are learners who are still at school, college or university, and some are already working, but need to improve their skills by learning new ones. Currently, there is an estimated 4.3 million unemployed people who have limited training or skills, which prevent them from getting decent or high paid jobs in any formal sector of the economy. This clearly shows that capacity development through education and skills development are vital for South African people and the country's economy (SETA n.d.).

Prior to 2000, South Africa had about 33 industry training boards that covered various sectors countrywide. Although their responsibility was to provide education and training to people to improve their occupational skills, they focused more on apprenticeships, and could not ensure the level of quality when it came to college courses or other forms of education (Hammond, Mabena & Strydom 2011:82; SETA n.d.). To standardise and improve the country's level of education and training, the South African government, through parliament, ratified the *National Skills Development Act 97 of 1998*, which was further amended by Act 26 of 2011 (South Africa 2012; South Africa 1998, SETA 2016). The Act provides an institutional framework to design and implement national, sector and workplace strategies, which helps to develop and improve the skills of the South African workforce. The Act also facilitates the integration of these strategies into the development and improvement of South African workforce skills. In addition, the Act provides for learnerships, which lead to recognised national occupational qualifications, and provides funds for skills development through levy-financing and the National Skills Fund (South Africa 1998).

3.3.1 SETA's objectives and skills development programmes

The institution responsible for the implementation of the South African Skills Development Act is the SETA (South Africa 2012; South Africa 1998). Between 2000 and 2008, SETA fell under the Department of Labour, but in 2009, it shifted to the Department of Higher Education and Training (SETA n.d.). The reasons for this change of responsibility were due to the negative perception of SETA's performance, management and governance; and the inadequacy of the alignment of industry needs in terms of training provision and skills development (SETA n.d.).

Part of the objectives of SETA is to make sure that the required skills of various sectors are identified, and that the appropriate skills are readily available. It also has to ensure that skills development training has the appropriate quality, meets the agreed standard requirements of the national skills development strategy, and caters for the training needs of currently employed and new entrants to the

workforce. It is also responsible for the learning programmes in the country, and the implementation of strategic sector skills plans. It has funds available from levy income, which are used for projects designed to assist in the achievement of sector priorities (Go Enterprise 2010). Therefore, its functions consist of developing people into learnership, which include apprenticeships of the past, internships and learning programmes. The SETA learnership programme, which combines practice and theory, prepares people for higher and semi-professional jobs that are beneficial to their future well-being (SETA n.d.)

Currently, SETA has twenty-three categories of skills development training, namely the Agricultural Sector Education Training Authority (AgriSETA); Banking Sector Education and Training Authority (BankSETA); Construction Education and Training Authority (CetaSETA); Chemical Industries Education and Training Authority (ChietaSETA); Culture, Sport, Tourism and Hospitality Sector Education and Training Authority (CsthSETA); Manufacturing Sector Education and Training Authority (CtflSETA); Energy Sector Education and Training Authority (ESETA); Education, Training and Development Practices Sector Education and Training Authority (EtdpSETA); Financial, Accounting, Management, Consulting and other Financial Services Sector Education and Training Authority (FassetSETA); Fibre Processing & Manufacturing Sector Education and Training Authority (FP&MSETA); Information and Communications Technology Sector Education and Training Authority (IctSETA); Insurance Sector Education and Training Authority (InSETA); Local Government Sector Education and Training Authority (LGSETA); Manufacturing, Engineering and Related Services Sector Education and Training Authority (MerSETA); Media, Information and Communication Technologies Sector Education and Training Authority (MictSETA); Mining and Minerals Sector Education and Training Authority (MqaSETA); Public Service Sector Education and Training Authority (PSETA); Safety and Security Sector Education and Training Authority (SasSETA); Services Sector Education and Training Authority (ServiceSETA); Social Security and Development Sector Education and Training Authority (SsdSETA); Transport Education and Training Authority (TetaSETA); and Wholesale and Retail Sector Education and Training Authority (W&RSETA) (SETA South Africa 2015).

There are three types of SETA skills development or learning programmes, namely fundamental components, core components and electives components. Fundamental components deal with basic education such as numeracy, literacy and communication skills. Core components, which are the central unit of the learning programmes, include technical courses such as engineering, baking, and mining. Electives components deal with specialised areas or the application of basic knowledge in workplace situations (Available Learnership 2017)

The recipients of SETA learning programmes are generally employees from government and private organisations, who want to improve their professional skills; young people who completed school, college or university, whose ages vary from 16 to 35 years old, and who want to get practical work experience in their field of study; and finally, unemployed South Africans who have employers who are prepared to provide them with the required work experience (SAQA 2014). Unemployed South Africans who are not linked to any employer are not registered for SETA programmes. However, they may benefit from skills development projects funded by the National Skills Fund (NSF)⁶ (South Africa, Dep. of Higher Education and Training 2016).

SETA programmes are largely funded, approximately at 80%, through a levy grant scheme, which comes from the taxes paid by employers who are registered with the South African Revenue Services (SARS) and have an annual payroll that exceeds R 500 000. The Levy is calculated based on 1% of the employee's monthly salary. The other sources of finance for SETA include the NSF, grants, donations, and income earned for services rendered (South Africa 1998).

⁶ National Skills Fund (NSF) is a section of the South African Department of Higher Education and Training that provides funds to projects that are considered as priorities in the Department's National Skills Development Strategy

3.3.2 Skills development and economic employment in South Africa

Since the introduction of the *Skills Development Act* in 1998, the number of skilled (e.g. managers, technicians), semi-skilled (e.g. clerks, mechanic operators) and low skilled (e.g. domestic workers) people has increased significantly. According to Statistics South Africa, the total number of skilled, semi-skilled and low skilled people in 1994 was estimated to be 8.9 million, with 1.8 million skilled, 4.2 million semi-skilled, and 2.9 million low skilled people. In 2014, the total number of skilled, semi-skilled and low skilled people increased to 15 million people, with 3.8 million skilled (108%), 7 million semi-skilled (66%), and 4.3 million low skilled people (49%). Among these people are Blacks, who are the most developed in terms of skilled (95%), followed by Indians (47%), Coloureds (45%), and Whites (9%) (Statistics South Africa 2014: 2-3).

The increased number of skilled people in South Africa since 1994 has had a positive impact on the employment figure, which rose by 6.2 million in 2014, with Blacks in the first position. However, despite this increase, the labour force, which includes those working and those seeking work, also increased by 8,7 million, resulting in an increase of 2,6 million unemployed people (Statistics South Africa 2014:10; National Treasury 2011:09). In 2016, the number of unemployed people reached 5.8 million people, which constitutes 27.1% of the unemployment rate in the country (Trading Economics 2017). This high level of unemployment makes South Africa among the highest in the world in terms of unemployment, and accounts for about 2% of the global unemployment rate (Trading Economics 2017).

There are many reasons for the increase in unemployment in the country, despite the various skills development programmes provided to youth and other unemployed people. One of the main reasons is the low quality and inadequacy of the educational system, which does not provide the necessary skills needed by the employers (Statistics South Africa 2014; Kraak *et al* 2013; Kruss *et al* 2012; National Treasury 2011; Marock 2010; Joint Initiative on Priority Skilled Acquisition 2010). According to the South African National Treasury, which conducted a study on youth unemployment, the majority of employers look for

skilled and experienced people, as it is a risky investment to employ unskilled and inexperienced jobseekers. Secondly, education or training is not necessarily a substitute for skills, since the most important element is the quality of education or skills development provided to the learners, which can add value to the production level of the enterprise or organisation. This is what many South African education and skills development programmes fail to provide. Thirdly, given the uncertainty of school or skills development leavers, employers consider entry-level wages to be too high in relation to the risk of hiring inexperienced people (National Treasury 2011:5).

This view is supported by the South African National Development Plan (NDP), as well as Kraak *et al* (2013), who argue that the South African education system, from basic education to university education, including skills development, is far from optimal. Many people who completed the school and skills development programmes, especially the Black African population, are not well equipped to compete in the labour market. There is an urgent need to address the skills development system that will be needed for growth in GDP and employment (Statistics South Africa 2014:7-8). Kraak *et al* (2013:5) also support this view by providing two main reasons for the increasing unemployment rate of graduates from schools, universities and skills development programmes in South Africa. According to them, the first reason is that the fundamental education system is low compared to other countries. Secondly, the skills development system is not performing well, in the sense that it does not provide the skills needed by employers for new entrants and existing employees.

According to Kruss *et al* (2012: 35-36), who conducted the assessment of South Africa's National Skills Development Strategy II in 2012, argue that the skills development programmes provided by SETA generally met the national performance target, and many graduates found stable basic and semi-skilled work in the formal sector a few years later. Data from 2005/06 indicates that 57% of previously unemployed learners found employment after completing SETA learnership programmes (National Treasury 2011:21). However, the main problem is that most skills provided by SETA learning programmes do not match

most of the industry requirements, as there is no alignment between SETA, education providers and firms in determining and updating the curriculum framework, in order to ensure that it fulfils industry needs. This means that many learners who graduated from SETA and other educational institutions are struggling to get decent jobs (Kruss *et al* 2012: 35-36).

3.3.3 Skills development and economic growth in South Africa

As indicated in Chapter Two, many scholars have the view that there is a linear link between skills development and economic growth, because the increase in skills development among people often corresponds to the increase in labour productivity in the labour market, which in turn has a positive impact on the economic growth of the country. Since 1994, South Africa's economic growth has increased significantly, particularly between 2001 and 2007, which was characterised by a strong bull-market and growing commodity market (JIPSA 2010:4; Industrial Development Corporation 2013:1). Between 1994 and 2012, the country recorded an average economic growth rate of 3.3% per annum in real terms, with a gross domestic product (GDP) of 77% in 2012, which was 77% larger in real terms compared to 1994 (IDC 2013:01). While this stimulated a high demand for job creation, economic growth has been characterised by unequal demand for highly skilled and experienced workers, to the detriment of inexperienced and low and middle skilled workers, such as new graduates from colleges and skills development institutions (JIPSA 2010:4). Due to the scarcity of skilled workers, many employers have the tendency to offer high wages to attract people who are highly skilled, which in turn skews the economic growth returns towards highly skilled and more educated people (JIPSA 2010:6).

This view is supported by Bhorat and Jacobs (2010:19-20), who used South African employment data from 1970-2005, and who argue that South Africa's economic growth in the modern era is characterised by a consistent increase in better educated workers, at the expense of those with low and middle education levels. Consequently, economic growth benefits better educated households who are at the top-end of income distribution more than those with medium and low education, who are in the middle and at the bottom of income distribution.

The shortage of skills in South Africa seriously hinders the economic growth of the country, despite a number of education reforms that the government has implemented since the end of apartheid, such as the establishment of the Skills Development Act and the changes in school curricula (Masipa & Jideani 2014:57-58; Rasool & Botha 2011:1). Although the shortage of skills appears to be relatively small and mostly related to replacement demand factors, including retirement, emigration and HIV and AIDS, it poses a serious problem of growth in an economy that is not growing fast enough in terms of employment (Akoojee, Gewer & McGrath 2005).

According to Akoojee *et al* (2005:101), the South African economy, since the end of apartheid, has tended to focus on underdevelopment and intermediate skills, especially with the black employment policy, to the detriment of high skills. This poses serious challenges for the economy's quest to successfully expand its production in domestic and international markets, due to the complexity of the modern economy and fast-paced technological progress, which requires highly skilled and experienced people to deal with all of the constraints that are faced (Kruger 2017; Akoojee *et al* 2005:101).

To deal with the shortage of skills in South Africa, in order to boost the economy, the Forum Africa Skills Initiative suggests that stakeholders such as government, businesses and the education and skills development sectors should work together and regularly discuss the future trends in the labour market, and then act accordingly. They should also learn from others, not only in South Africa, but all over the world, especially from the most developed economies, in order to tackle unemployment and build highly skilled people for today and tomorrow's jobs (Kruger 2017).

These suggestions are supported by JIPSA, which emphasises the collaboration between users and suppliers of skills. Through collaboration, stakeholders will be able to define the scarce skills that need to be prioritised, and find a way to put in place programmes, such as national placement programmes and

professional bodies, which may assist in enhancing job creation and economic growth (JIPSA 2010:46).

3.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the researcher described and discussed various social assistance and capacity development policies and programmes available in South Africa. With regard to the historical perspective on social assistance policies and programmes, it has been revealed that from colonialism to apartheid, the South African social assistance system was characterised by racial discrimination and inequality, with the white population benefiting more than the other population groups, and with the black population in the last position. The situation changed in 1994, with the establishment of a democratic government led by Nelson Mandela, where all peoples able to receive social grant benefits in equal measure. This change was influenced by various reforms introduced with regard to social assistance policies and programmes by the government, in collaboration with some civil society organisations. The change also facilitated a steady increase in numbers of beneficiaries, as well as in the state's social assistance expenditure.

However, despite the positive impact that the reformed social assistance policies and programmes had on the lives of the beneficiaries in terms of poverty alleviation and human capacity development, many scholars, including political parties such as the ANC, have criticised the South African social assistance system. According to them, South African social assistance encourages a culture of dependency among the beneficiaries, preventing them from looking for jobs in order to become independent from state welfare. Furthermore, the steady annual increase in state social assistance expenditure is another concern for political parties and some scholars, who argue that it has a negative effect on the country's economy, as people have to pay more taxes to fund the system. They suggest that government should invest more in education, skills development and job creation, in order to boost the economy and improve the living conditions of the people in a sustainable manner.

With regard to capacity development policies and programmes, this chapter discussed the Skills Development Act, and SETA, which is responsible for the implementation of the Skills Development Act. This section revealed that despite SETA, through its programmes, assisting many learners to improve their skills, many of its graduates, especially the unemployed, find it difficult to find decent jobs. Many scholars and employers criticise the low quality of training and education provided by SETA and other South African education institutions, as it is not compatible with labour market needs, both domestically and internationally.

The researcher discussed the impact of skills development on economic employment and economic growth in South Africa. The findings revealed that due to the low quality of education, many employers prefer to employ highly skilled people, by agreeing to pay them high wages, to the detriment of low and semi-skilled people. This negatively affects the economic growth of the country, as more people are unemployed due to their lack of the required skills in the labour market.

Some scholars and organisations suggest that the South African government, businesses and educational institutions should continually collaborate to find ways to improve the education system of South Africa, based on the labour needs of employers, both locally and internationally. They also need to learn from other countries across the world, especially the more developed ones.

CHAPTER 4: SOCIAL CAPITAL THEORY AND THE CAPABILITY APPROACH

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the conceptual framework used in this study, namely social capital theory and the capability approach. These two theories have been chosen due to their closeness to the goals and objectives of the study, which concern the improvement of the human capacity of social assistance beneficiaries. These two frameworks complement each other, as the first (social capital theory) refers to agential control over social network resources, whereas the second (the capability approach) enables an analysis of social interactions and social resources. By using both, the researcher is able to envisage an alternative framework for social assistance.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section deals with social capital theory, and includes the following: the origins and evolution of the concept of social capital, the different definitions of social capital from scholars who contributed to the development of social capital theory, the components and levels of social capital theory, and the limitations of social capital theory. In this section, the researcher discusses the link between social capital and social assistance, the link between social capital and human capacity development, and the link between social capital and economic growth.

The second section of this chapter deals with the capability approach, where the meaning and history of the capability approach, and its key concepts are discussed. In this section, the researcher also discusses the link between the capability approach and human dignity, as well as the link between the capability approach and intergenerational transfer of state. This chapter concludes with a summary of the main points, and makes suggestions regarding how these theories provide a framework for the study.

4.2 SOCIAL CAPITAL THEORY

4.2.1 Origins and evolution of the social capital concept

The concept of social capital, which became relatively popular in the late 1990s, has been in use for more than a century in different disciplines, including sociology, political sciences and economy, by contemporary scholars such as Durkheim, Alexis de Tocqueville and Adam Smith, and arguably even some of the earliest scholars, such as Aristotle (Manning 2008; Halpern 2005; Portes 1998). According to Portes (1998:2), a sociologist, the involvement and association of people in groups, which have a positive impact on individuals and communities, dated back to the time of Durkheim and Marx. These two nineteenth century scholars emphasised the important role that states and communities should play in the wellbeing of the people. In Durkheim's view, a state can be sustained only if there is an interposing series of secondary groups of people between it and the community, with the former being close enough to them to attract them in their spheres of action, and to drag them into the general torrent of social life. He illustrates his thesis through an analysis of suicide or self-destruction. According to him, suicide or self-destruction is mostly found in societies characterised by social dislocation and weak bonds. However, in a society with a high level of social cohesion and solidarity, people are protected from suicide or self-destruction through mutual support, which encourages them to share their problems and get support when they need it (Halpern 2005:5).

Alexis de Tocqueville, whose works focused on the foundation of American democracy over one hundred and fifty years ago, also supported the role that associational life plays in society. He argued that an association often unites the energies of different minds, and vigorously directs them towards a clearly identifiable goal. This often facilitates social collaboration or provides a solution to collective action problems. He adds that through associational life, the renewal of feelings and ideas, enlargement of hearts, and mutual understanding occur because of the reciprocal actions between people (Halpern 2005:5).

Economists claim that social capital found its origin in their discipline through the work of Adam Smith in the eighteenth century. In his work, Smith also paid attention to the importance of mutual sympathy, network and value in the sustainability of the market. Although most of his examples were not positive, Adam Smith, in his book entitled "*The Theory of Moral Sentiment*", highlights the way in which merchants of the same trade often meet and conspire against the public to increase the price for their own greater profit (Halpern 2005:08; Claridge 2004b). However, despite some exceptions, such as Irvin Fisher, who attempted to include, in his definition, the aspect of social organisation forms, most economists have shown little concern for the role of social networks and norms in economic life (Halpern 2005:6).

In the contemporary period, the term "social capital" was first used in 1916 by the American scholar Lyda Judson Hanifan, in his paper entitled "*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*", and in his 1920 book entitled "*The Community Center*". In both documents, he used the term 'social capital' to refer to tangible assets that play an important part in the daily lives of people, such as good will, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse, which unite individuals, families and communities in a social unit (Parra-Requena, Rodrigo-Alarcon & Garcia-Villaverda 2013:67; Halpern 2005:6). The main reason for choosing this term is to facilitate a discussion with radical businessmen, who prefer the use of economic language, rather than community language (Halpern 2005:6; Claridge 2004b). Despite the fact that many social contemporary scholars continued to use Hanifan's work in terms of community competence and networking, the term 'social capital' was not often used, and was mostly unrelated to the general literature (Halpern 2005:6).

It was in the 1980s that the mainstream academic interest in the social capital concept emerged, when eminent sociologists from the USA and Europe began to draw their attention to the concept. Among them was the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, who criticised the contemporary economists for limiting their thinking to a narrow band of practices that were socially recognised as 'economic', while neglecting some important aspects of social and economic life, such as the different aspects of capital thinking (Parra-Requena *et al* 2013:67;

Gauntlett 2011:132; Halpern 2005:7). According to him, the concept of 'capital' has three fundamental types, namely economic capital, cultural capital and social capital, which were not taken into consideration by most of the contemporary economists (Halpern 2005:7). He suggests that because social capital can embrace many forms, it is important to explain the structure and dynamics of different societies (Parra-Requena *et al*/2013:67). For this purpose, he developed a model based on cultural capital, social capital and economic capital, in order to explain the cold realities of social inequality among social classes. Through his model, he considers social capital as a way of showing how different social classes ensure that their spheres remain exclusive (Gauntlett 2011:132).

Pierre Bourdieu's impact on the social capital concept was followed in the late 1980s and early 1990s by the American sociologist James Coleman, who also linked social capital to economic capital, but in a different way. He considers social capital as a way of making sense of the exaggeratedly rational and individualistic models of the orthodox economy. He used social capital to give the economic rational choice theory, which seems to predict how things work, a more human and collective social face. He developed a model in which actors (individuals or organisations) can combine their resources, such as own skills (human capital), tools (physical capital), or money (economic capital). He also highlights the role of social capital, which is a source of useful everyday information, rules and sanctions, in the facilitation of certain actions to be taken. His model opened the way to a broader view that considers social capital as a stock held not only by powerful people, but also by communities, including the marginalised and powerless (Gauntlett 2011:132-133).

Although Bourdieu and Coleman contributed greatly towards the social capital paradigm, it is Harvard University professor Robert Putnam, who made social capital theory popular in the late 1990s through his publication entitled "*Making Democracy Work*". His thesis was inspired by good governance in Italy, and he argues that the successful accumulation of the social capital of a region is based on a well-functioning economic system and a high level of political integration, which create mutual trust between citizens (Parra-Requena *et al* 2013:68;

Halpern 2005:7; Keeley 2007; Siisiäinen 2000). He developed his concept by using the ideas of two social thinkers, namely Alexis Tocqueville, a nineteenth-century French civil servant and social thinker, and James Coleman (Parra-Requena *et al* 2013; Gauntlett 2011). Tocqueville, who initially criticised the American large democracy, with its high levels of freedom and equality, which could produce individualism anarchy and general chaos. He came to realise, contrary to his beliefs, that there was a high level of community spirit and mutual support at all levels of American society. He noted that American citizens enjoy unlimited freedom of association for political purposes, including civil society, which includes all nongovernmental organisations, such as religious groups, sport clubs, parenting groups, and so on (Gauntlett 2011:135).

Through his study of the works of Tocqueville and Coleman, Putnam suggests that the relationship between individuals often creates social networks, norms of reciprocity, and trustworthiness between actors. According to him, the most important elements of social capital reside in actors' trust, in the sense that when actors in a given community trust each other, the cooperation between them will help them to achieve their collective goals. He argues that the embeddedness between actors in a closed network often prevents agents from engaging in any kind of opportunistic behaviour. He adds that the norms of reciprocity in social networks, where people help each other without expecting an immediate return, favour the development of reciprocal trust behaviour between them (Parra-Requena *et al* 2013:68).

In his work, he distinguishes between bonding and bridging social capital. According to him, bonding social capital, which refers to the linkage of people sharing a common identity, such as family, close friends and people of the same culture, plays an important role in mobilising reciprocity and solidarity among actors. On the other hand, bridging social capital, which refers to the linkage of people beyond a shared identity, such as distant friends and colleagues, helps actors to connect or link to external benefits and share information (Parra-Requena *et al* 2013:68; Keeley 2007:103).

4.2.2 What is social capital?

After discussing the origins and evolution of the social capital concept with reference to various scholars, it is important to fully define the concept of “social capital”, in order to gain a better understanding of it. In this regard, there are various definitions, interpretations and uses of social capital theory from different scholars and institutions, based on their fields of interest and research (Claridge 2004b; Dasgupta & Serageldin 1999). Some scholars identify social capital with the feature of social organisational trust, while others consider it as an aggregate of behavioural norms, social networks, and a combination of them all (Dasgupta & Serageldin 1999; Robison, Schmid & Siles 2002). Below are the interpretations of the social capital concept by different eminent contemporary social scholars, who play critical roles in the popularisation of the social capital theory, namely Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman, Robert Putnam, and Nan Lin. According to Bourdieu (Hauberer 2010:38):

Social Capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources, which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity - owned capital, a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word.

In Bourdieu’s conceptualisation of social capital, the emphasis is on the size and volume of the social network accumulated by an actor, and the profit that he or she can achieve by engaging in and maintaining links with a social network. This profit may not necessarily be economic, but can be reduced to economic profit (Tzanakis 2013:3). In addition, the actors’ potential to increase social capital profit and control are differently distributed, due to the unequal resources that each actor possesses. This inequality of resources predisposes actors in differently advantaged locations in social space to the appropriation of available scarce resources.

Commenting on Bourdieu’s definition, Gauntlett (2011:132) argues that Bourdieu, based on his experience with regard to the behaviour of social

classes, used this definition to explain the inequality that exists in the world, where middle and upper classes strive to ensure that their domains remains exclusive. This clearly relates to the reality of social life, where wealthy elites or countries continue to remain wealthy over generations, to the detriment of poor people or countries. However, he acknowledges that social networks are not always exclusive tools of elites or wealthy countries, but benefit poor people or countries as well.

According to Coleman (1988):

Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors-whether persons or corporate actors-within the structure.

In Coleman's definition of social capital, there are two important elements to consider, namely social structure and actions to be taken by actors within the structure, in order to reach a particular end. With regard to social structure, Coleman views social capital as a bonding mechanism that brings about changes in the relationships among people. This dimension is set apart from human capital and financial capital (Tzanakis 2013:4). He argues that although all of them are productive tools, he considers human capital as a process that creates change in the life of a person, by bringing skills and capabilities, which make that person act in a new way (Coleman 1988:100). Financial capital, also called 'credit slip', is an obligation for a person or actor to reciprocate a favour received from another person. Social structure, on the other hand, predates people who are part of the social network as resources that can be used to achieve an end (Tzanakis 2013:4). Coleman adds that most of the aspects of social structure are identified by their functions, irrespective of their difference in form, appreciation and construction. These functions constitute both an aid in accounting for different outcomes at individual actor level, and an aid for micro-to-macro transition, without providing a sufficient social structural explanation as to how it occurs (Coleman 1990:305).

With regard to the aspect of actions to be taken by actors in order to achieve the final objective, Coleman argues that social capital assists actors within the social structure to establish norms according to which actions can be taken by them. The establishment or support of a norm by actors often anticipates the benefit from common compliance within the social structure. This can result in a decrease of negative external costs of actions to be taken by actors. For example, if a group of actors establish the norm of not smoking in a restaurant or an office, the impact of harming the health of others is reduced. In this case, the norm not only benefits the actors who establish it, but also all of the actors who are part of the social structure (Hauberer 2010:41). Norms are also often enforced by sanctions against actors in terms of reward or punishment, based on their behaviour or attitude within the social structure. Therefore, if an actor complies with the norms of the social structure with which he/she is associated, he/she may obtain certain advantages that are available within that social structure, such as getting a loan or financial assistance from the other actors. However, if he/she fails to comply with these norms, he/she may not get access to the benefits that are available within the social structure (Hauberer 2010:41).

According to Putnam (in Keddy 2001:133):

Social capital refers to the connections among individuals or social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. These connections or relationships function as “social glue” and play a critical role in the ability of people to cooperate with one another for the benefit of all.

In Putnam's social capital definition, he emphasises social relationships between actors or individuals in a community, and the norms of reciprocity and trust that they have in respect to each other. In a social relationship that binds two actors, Putnam argues that social capital facilitates spontaneous cooperation between actors, and may be beneficial to all of them. He illustrates this principle through the example of a 'rotating credit association', whereby a group of people agree to regularly contribute money, in order to fund each contributor in rotation. This association ends when each member of the group receives his/her funds (Putnam 1993:167-168). In this example, it is clear that

through social relationships between actors or individuals within a social group, they are able to assist each other with the problems that they face.

With regard to norms of reciprocity and trust between actors, Putnam argues that the norm of reciprocity plays an important role in the civilised world. He suggests that a group of people or members of a community who practice the principle of generalised reciprocity find their self-interest being served most of the time. However, he stresses that this principle depends on the case at hand. In some cases, the return of favour is immediate and straightforward, but in other cases, the process is very long and conjectural. He illustrated this by the example of the generalised reciprocity benefit that people who are living in a community that cares for vulnerable children can receive. In this situation, it is difficult to distinguish between altruism or self-interest in generalised reciprocity (Putnam 2000:135).

With regard to trust, Putnam considers trust as an important indicator of social capital, as it is connected to the norm of reciprocity and the benefits that it receives from social and general trust. These benefits may include more volunteerism, a higher level of giving, and higher civic engagement participation (Grossman 2013:12-13). Furthermore, Putnam draws a distinction between “thick trust” and “thin trust”. According to him, thick trust is a trust that is embedded in a personal relationship with an individual or institution, a trust that is built through strong and frequent ties (e.g. family, close or long-time friend). On the other hand, thin trust is a social or generalised trust, such as having a new acquaintance with someone you meet at a conference (Grossman 2013:13; Putnam 2000:136). However, Putnam considers thin trust to be more advantageous than thick trust, since it extends the radius of trust beyond the number of people with whom someone can have a strong relationship. Thin trust, which is considered as a ‘standing decision’, gives most people, including those with no personal relationship, the benefit of the doubt (Putnam 2000:136).

According to Lin (2001:19), social capital refers to the investment in social relationships or social networks for an expected return. In other words, social capital is the result of an investment in social relations, which in turn generates

a return. Lin argues that a social relationship is often dictated by the positions of the actors within the stratification structure, and their location in social networks. Within these structures, actors strive to make choices that favour retention and reciprocal relationships with others through the investment of time and effort (Lin, Ao & Song 2009:164). Generally, in social relations, an actor may borrow or capture other actors' resources (e.g. an unemployed person may receive a social grant for skills development from government). These social resources can then generate a return for the actor (e.g. social grant beneficiaries get a better job or open a business, and pay taxes to the government) (Lin 2005:04). In Lin's (1999:31) view, many people prefer to engage in social networking in order to produce profit. He provides three explanations as to why embedded resources in social networks improve the outcome of actions. Firstly, it facilitates the flow of information within a market, organisation or social tie, which can reduce the cost and energy involved in the decision-making process. For example, a social network can provide an individual with useful information about a job or business opportunity that may not be available to everybody. Secondly, a social network may exert influence on its actors, who may play a critical role in decision making within an organisation or community (e.g. an actor who is in a higher position in an organisation may have the power to hire someone from his/her social network). Thirdly, a social tie may be considered as a certification of social credentials for its members, in order for them to access certain resources, or may add some resources to the social network, which could be beneficial to the organisation or social network.

Although many scholars share sentiments regarding the meaning of social capital, which is a social network of individuals based on trust, reciprocity and norms, the researcher considers Lin's view, as stated in the previous paragraph, to be most relevant to this study. This is because there are two main actors in this study, namely the government and the citizens. They are in a reciprocal relationship in as far as sustaining the economy is concerned. In other words, the government invests in the human capacity development of the citizens through, *inter alia*, social assistance, with the aim of ensuring productive, independent and self-sufficient citizens, who will then be able to boost the country's economy through the payment of taxes. For example, the government,

by investing in the free education of poor tertiary students, will get a return on its investment through the payment of taxes by these students when they have completed their studies and obtained jobs. This will also help the government to boost its economy and invest in other sectors.

4.2.3 Components of social capital

The different definitions of social capital have created confusion about its true content. Despite this confusion, there are generally three recognised components that are found in any type of association including social capital, namely structural social capital or social structure; relational social capital or trust; and cognitive social capital (Kitapci 2016; Muniady, Al Mamun, Mohamad, Permarupan & Zainol 2015; Ortiz, Donate & Guadamillas 2016; Ansary, Munir & Gregg 2012; Halpern 2005:10).

4.2.3.1 *Structural social capital*

Structural social capital refers to the characteristics or properties of the social networks or relationships that exist between different people within society as a whole in terms of the strength and density of the link. In other words, it determines the presence or absence of relationships between people, and the hierarchy of relationships within an organisation, community or nation (*Ortiz et al* 2016:93; Muniady *et al* 2015:04; Ansary *et al* 2012:823). In structural social capital, especially in a social organisation, there are roles, rules and procedures that actors have to play and follow in order to facilitate mutually beneficial collective action (Krishna 2000:71). For example, to assist an orphan family in a community to rebuild their house that was destroyed by a storm, each member of that community has been assigned a role, and instructed to follow rules and procedures established under the leadership of the community leader. Conversely, Burt, cited in Muniady *et al* (2015:04), argues that actors who are on opposite sides of structural social capital operate in different information spheres, but the combination of their

separate information often offers the possibility of potential innovation or the generation of new ideas.

4.2.3.2 *Relational social capital*

Relational social capital refers to the types of personal relationships that individuals may have between them through a history of interactions. It is mainly associated with the characteristics and quality of 'good' or 'bad' ongoing relationships (Muniady *et al* 2015:04). According to Ortiz *et al* (2016:93), relational social capital refers to intangible assets built into relationships between individuals. In this form of social capital, the issues of trust, mutual respect, friendship and integrity play a very important role (Ortiz *et al* 2016:93; Muniady *et al* 2015:04; Ansary *et al* 2012:823). For example, the trust and mutual respect that people who have known each other for a long time in a network have are different from those who are meeting for the first time in the same network.

4.2.3.3 *Cognitive social capital*

Cognitive social capital refers to shared values and common assumptions, such as visions, norms, ideologies and interests, that members of a network have established to allow them to understand each other's behaviour, needs and level of engagement (Ortiz *et al* 2016:93; Muniady *et al* 2015:04; Uphoff 2000:218). An example of this is a group of CBOs working with households affected by HIV and AIDS that share the same vision and ideas about how to provide health, economic and spiritual care to orphans and vulnerable children who have lost their parents due to HIV-related diseases. By sharing norms, visions and beliefs, the cognitive dimension often has a positive impact on the development of relationships between members of the network (Muniady *et al* 2015:4). This is supported by Weik, cited in Muniady *et al* (2015:04), who argues that when there is congruence in terms of goals and values among members of a social network, cognitive social capital has the

tendency to become ongoing, cumulative, supportive, and self-reinforcing.

Although the three social capital components are analysed separately, they are interrelated through their elements. Consequently, they affect each other and their interrelations are dynamic (Muniady *et al* 2015:04). The study conducted by Carey, Lawson and Krause (2011) on the relationship between structural, relational and cognitive social capital revealed that cognitive capital has a strong influence on the level of relational capital, and that structural capital increases the level of trust and reciprocity in relational social capital. The same study also revealed that relational social capital, especially in a business environment, influences structural social capital in terms of business performance.

4.2.4 Levels of social capital

Many scholars argue that there is controversy with regard to the levels associated with the social capital concept. Some locate social capital at the individual level, some at the community level, and others have dynamic views, ranging from the individual level up to the national level, passing through family, informal and formal organisations, and community levels (Halpern 2005, Claridge 2004a; Bankston III & Zhou 2002; OECD 2001, Portes 1998; Putnam 1995; Coleman 1988). This controversy is mostly due to the widespread differences in the types and range of networks considered as social capital (Halpern 2005:13). For example, there are national associations of workers that advocate for the causes of workers; networks of refugees and immigrants that work together to advocate for migration problems; associations of parents that help schools and learners to succeed in what they are doing; sports associations; social networks of friends; networks of people from the same community or clan; people sharing the same house and food. etc (Halpern 2005:13). However, Bankston III and Zhou (2002:286) and Slangena, van Kootena and Suchanek (2004:247) argue that despite the controversy about and existence of different levels of social capital, it is difficult to separate them, as they are all connected to one another. In other words, social capital is not limed

to one level only, but occurs across different levels. To simplify things, Halpern (2005:13-19), suggests the subdivision of social capital into three main levels, namely micro-level, meso-level and macro-level. Micro-level social capital refers to the social connection between family members, including friends. Meso-level social capital includes the close ties between members of communities and associational organisations. Macro-level social capital includes state or national social connections (Macke & Sehnem 2016; Halpern 2005:13-18).

4.2.4.1 *Micro-level social capital*

Micro-level or individual level social capital, which refers to close ties among family members and friends, is mostly characterised by interpersonal connections between members of that social network, in which mutual trust and personal networks are predominant (Halpern 2005: 17-18; Munasib 2007:22; Slangena *et al* 2004:247).

Kaasa and Parts (2007:9) argue that at the micro-level, social capital is influenced by a range of socioeconomic and contextual factors, such as skills development and income. At this social capital level, due to the interpersonal trust between actors, the sharing of information is easy and quick, and reduces the cost of searching. For example, information about job or business opportunities is often first shared among group members (families or friends) before going to other people (Munasib 2007:22; Kaasa & Parts 2007:9). It therefore facilitates cooperation, collaboration and coordination of action (Munasib 2007:22; Hyggen 2006:495).

Lin (1999:42), indicates that individuals at the social capital micro-level use their embedded resources, such as social contacts, to enhance their lives and attain socioeconomic status. This was supported by Gaag (2005:15), citing Flap, argues that individuals at micro levels, in order to create social capital, often invest in social relationships in a rational way. They actively try to improve their life-chances or living conditions, by making use of their personal resources, or investing in personal relationships with others, with an expected return.

4.2.4.2 *Meso-level social capital*

Meso-level social capital refers to close ties among members of communities or associational organisations (Macke & Sehnem 2016). Huang (2010:01) defines meso-level social capital as groups of people in a given community who have close ties and work together for the wellbeing of the community. Among these groups there are local organisations or associations, civic groups and clubs that operate within a community or region.

The meso-level plays an intermediary role between the micro-level and macro-level, where the individual's (micro-level) goals and objectives are translated into action within local associations/organisations that exist in a community. These local associations/organisations, which normally operate under community leadership, assist in providing their members with a common platform and connecting them to other community organisations and the macro level (Tirmizi 2005:54). This helps local associations or organisations to get access to resources that are not locally available, and facilitates the development of mutual benefits for all (Tirmizi 2005:64). Local organisations, such as financial organisations, play an important role in the development efforts of the community (meso-level of social capital), as they provide financial assistance in the form of loans, grants and donations to individuals and other local organisations, in order to help them to achieve their developmental goals and objectives (Tirmizi 2005:63).

Meso-level social capital, through community associations, may assist its members to obtain vocational training, and they can then use the skills and knowledge that they gain in community events and activities. This may also help them to gain employment in small and big businesses (Falk & Kilpatrick 2000: 25). The study conducted by Falk and Kilpatrick (2000: 25) on the nature of interactive productivity between networks within a community reveals that local interaction can help the meso-level to capacitate community members for involvement in volunteer work and

civil activities, including small businesses or the expansion of existing businesses.

4.2.4.3 *Macro-level social capital*

Macro-level social capital refers to government organisations or institutions that encourage people to make use of their abilities for mutual socioeconomic benefit (Kaldary & Parts 2005:14-15). In other words, it is the connection between state and society, or the synergy between state actions and the interests of the population (Hawe & Shiell 2000:873). This macro-level social capital is based on legal and structural relationships, such as rules of law, legal frameworks, absence of corruption, transparency of political regimes, and includes institutions that encourage people to cooperate for mutual benefit (Kaldary & Parts 2005:15; Krishna & Shrader 1999:09).

The macro-level, despite representing a weak tie compared to the micro-level and meso-level of social capital, is an important conduit for the flow of information. Hurlbert, Beggs and Haines (2009:247), citing Granovetter, argue that where strong ties predominate and weak ties are rare, the social structure is often fragmented and information flows slowly. To clarify his argument, Granovetter uses ethnographic evidence to show that the strong ties developed and maintained by poor individuals are often the result of the economic pressure with which they are confronted, and they believe that they have no alternatives (Hurlbert, Beggs & Haines 2009:247).

Macro-level social capital may affect the economic development of a country, including its income distribution and social cohesion (Kaldary & Parts 2005:15). The study conducted by Kadary and Parts (2005) in 34 European countries on the effect of the macro level on sustainable economic development revealed that there is a strong positive relationship between macro-level social capital (measured by many indicators) and economic development.

4.2.5 Limitations of social capital

Although social capital constitutes a valuable asset for the economic wellbeing and improvement of people or a community, it also has its negative side. The main limitation of social capital is that it leads to the exclusion of people who are not members of a specific social network, which has a negative impact on the economic wellbeing and development of people within a community (Andriani 2013; Portes 2014; Claridge 2004a; Haynes 2009). According to Andriani (2013:18), citing Portes and Field, strong ties and strict rules within a social network might constitute a cost that does not benefit the community. He argues that cooperation among members of a social network does not necessarily imply that the goal is the benefit of the common good. For example, while members of a group (insiders) can benefit from common resources such as job opportunity information, the outsider might be excluded or isolated, thereby creating an environment of distrust.

In support of this, Claridge (2004a:38) and Haynes (2009:13) suggest that social capital can cause negative externalities of people who are not part of a specific social network. According to Haynes (2009), the fact that social network offers more opportunities for community members implies that there is a trade-off between features such as community solidarity and freedom of individuals, which create the barriers of meritocracy. Therefore, people may not be able to benefit from the resources that they need for their wellbeing or economic development.

Portes (2014) criticises social capital from an ethnic and religious perspective, and highlights two negative aspects of social capital. Firstly, he argues that the particularistic benefits that some people receive for being members of an ethnic or religious group may be considered by others as a kind of exclusion from the same social and economic benefits. For example, during the apartheid regime in South Africa, social assistance programmes focused more on poor Whites than other population groups, such as Blacks, Indian and Coloureds, excluding them from poverty reduction benefits. This affected the socioeconomic

development of these population groups. The second negative aspect of social capital raised by Portes concerns the extreme claims made against successful members of a particular community by others. Geertz, cited by Portes, who undertook a study on the failure of enterprises in Bali, indicated that the exclusive demand of coethnics and kin on successful businesses may easily sink promising business ventures, thereby preventing the accumulation of capital and turning firms into welfare business.

4.2.6 Social capital and social assistance

Social capital, which is about social networks, social norms and social trust, and facilitates coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit (Ferragina 2017:57; Kaariainen & Lethtonene 2006:30; van Oorschot & Finsveen 2009), is also characterised by unequal distribution within social categories, such as gender, economic status, education. (van Oorschot & Finsveen 2009). In this inequality, members of the same social networks give themselves preference, to the detriment of other people who are not part of their social network. Conversely, social assistance or social welfare provides social benefits to mostly needy people, in the form of social grants, education, health services and other social benefits, with the aim of reducing socioeconomic and human capital inequality among members of the population (Ferragina 2017:57; van Oorschot & Finsveen 2009:189-190).

A few studies have been conducted by scholars on the correlation between social capital and social assistance or social welfare, which are mostly incomplete due to lack of appropriate data, since these studies focused more on social spending as the only measurement indicator (Kaariainen & Lehtonen 2006: 28; van Oorschot & Finsveen 2009:190; Gelissen, van Oorschot & Finsveen 2012).

According to Ferragina (2017), the debate regarding the correlation between social assistance and social capital has both theoretical and empirical contributions. With regard to the theoretical debate, there are two opposite views. There is one view that is supported by neoclassical and communitarian

scholars, which is called the “crowding-out hypothesis”. This hypothesis sees a negative relationship between social assistance and social capital, in the sense that social assistance programmes are often associated with a lower level of social capital. In other words, with a high level of social assistance, the socioeconomic risks and problems of the beneficiaries will be excessively covered, hence they will rely more on state social assistance than social ties within their social network (Ferragina 2017:58-59; Kaariainen & Lehtonen 2006:33).

The opposite view that is supported by institutionalists is called the “*crowding-in hypothesis*”. This hypothesis views a positive relationship between social assistance and social capital. The supporters of this hypothesis argue that certain social assistance programmes may positively influence the formation of social networks, embeddedness of social norms and mutual trust among people, as they provide universal access to social capital and full social citizenship. In contrast, however, these theorists argue that with means-tested social assistance, needy people will be highly stigmatised, and this will negatively affect social capital over time, where upper-middle classes will have the tendency to distance themselves from the lower classes (Ferragina 2017:59; Kaariainen & Lehtonen 2006:33). According to Kaariainen and Lehtonen (2006:33), citing Kumlin and Rothstein, the crowding-in approach, which is mostly used by social-democratic welfare state regimes such as Sweden and Norway, highlights the solidarity and trust that citizens have in their political system. This is supported by Gelissen, van Oorschot and Finsveen (2012:417), who indicate that countries with more universal welfare systems have many people who participate in informal organisations and voluntary activities. They also have a higher level of trust in their fellow citizens and the country’s social organisation, and have the tendency to adhere more to civic and cooperative norms.

In terms of the empirical contribution, Ferragina (2017:78), who conducted a study on the degrees of relationship between social assistance and social capital in Europe during the 1990s and 2000s, found that this relationship is more positive than negative. He therefore partially confirms the negative relationship

between social assistance and social capital that is supported by the neoclassical and communitarian theorists, and strongly confirms the positive relationship between social assistance and social capital, which is supported by the institutionalist theorists.

Hyggen (2006:503), citing Rothstein and his colleagues, argues that the design of social assistance programmes may have a positive or negative impact on the level of trust among individuals in a society. The comparative study conducted by Rothstein and his colleagues in Scandinavian countries on the high level of trust among social welfare programme beneficiaries in these countries found that, despite the universal aspect of social welfare programmes in these countries, social assistance programmes in Norway are discretionary. This means that social assistance beneficiaries in Norway receive different incentives, depending on the level of need of each recipient, which may lead each person to withhold information regarding his/her incentives. The hypothesis of this situation may be that a person receiving social assistance will display a lower level of trust than a person who receives universal support, such as unemployment benefits, who will display a higher level of trust.

Van Oorschot and Finsveen (2009:184-185), in their study on the impact of social welfare on the reduction of inequality in people's social capital, identified three levels of impact. The first, which has an indirect impact, is the welfare state programme through which social policies, such as social protection, education, and healthcare, seek to reduce the large economic inequality among people, including their social capital. The second, which has a direct impact, is traditional social welfare, which despite having the main aim of reducing people's inequality in economic and human capital, can have an unintended equalising impact on social capital. This impact occurs in three ways: firstly, by creating a societal context that promotes basic social security, empowerment, and impartiality, especially for poor people, which may enhance trust among people, as well as toward institutions. Secondly, the impact is achieved by creating a context that facilitates national solidarity and fellow feeling, and promotes trust among people, but which also offers a role model for the social norms of cooperation and mutual support. The third impact suggests that social assistance may

reduce the feedback cycle between economic capital and social capital. For example, some social welfare programmes offer the recipients the possibility to extend their social network.

4.2.7 Social capital and capacity development

As defined in Chapter One, capacity development, which is also considered as human resource development, refers to the education or training provided by government or private institutions to individuals, in order for them to acquire adequate skills and knowledge for their well-being and the development of the country (see Chapter One). Fukuda-Parr, Lopes and Malik (2002:09) argue that the development of the country is not only based on the expansion of people's capacity skills, but also on the creation of opportunities and incentives that allow them to use and extend the skills they have acquired. This means that capacity development does not only take place in individuals, but also between them, as well as within the institutions and social networks (social capital) that they created. This is supported by Putnam (2000:296-297), who indicates that the state or community may have strong social capital when people trust each other, volunteer, and socialise with friends.

The study conducted by the OECD (2001) on the impact of human and social capital on people's well-being and the country's economic growth found that social capital has the potential to facilitate the flow of information and knowledge through trust and social networks. This means that people who are within the same social network have the tendency to help each other in terms of learning, thereby getting access to new information and knowledge. This is supported by Kilpatrick (2004), who indicates that the social network of a community often acts as a lubricant that helps members to get access to and acquire new knowledge, skills and values.

In terms of performance, many scholars see a positive relationship between capacity development and social capital (Putnam 2000; Halpern 2005; Stack-Cutler, Parrila, Jokisaari & Nurmi 2015). Putnam (2000), in his book entitled "Bowling Alone", by linking education and social capital, revealed a strong

connection between child learning development and social capital. He adds, by citing Annes Henderson and Nancy Berla, that when parents are fully committed to the education of their children, by assisting them with school activities such as homework, children often do better in school, and their school also does better.

Halpern (2005), who supports the positive correlation between capacity development (education) and social capital in terms of performance, bases his argument on the three levels of social capital, namely micro-level, meso-level and macro-level. With regard to the micro-level, he has the view that a strong child-parent relationship, where parents are physically present and attentive to the child's school activities, such as the preparation of school homework and tests, often leads to higher educational performance and attainment by the child. This positive correlation is also strengthened by the social support that parent receive from the rest of the family, friends, and the child's school (e.g. teacher) in assisting the child in his or her school activities (Halpern 2005:143-147).

At the meso-level, Halpern argues that both the school and the community can influence a child's school performance. Strong parent-school relationships and parent-parent or parent-community relationships provide good evidence of this positive effect. Halpern explains this positive relationship through different studies conducted by Coleman and other scholars on the level of educational failure in USA schools. The findings of these studies revealed that there were much lower drop-out rates in Catholic schools than in conventional secular schools. The reason for this was that there was a very strong bond between students, parents and teachers, who were linked by a network of shared values. There was also a higher level of closure in Catholic schools than in conventional secular schools (Halpern 2005: 151).

At the macro-level, Harpen (2005:160-161) cites Putnam, who conducted a study in the US on the correlation between the social capital index and the national assessment of education progress test, and this study revealed that states with higher levels of social capital aggregate produce better academic results than those with lower levels of social capital aggregate. This positive

relationship between social capital and educational attainment at the national level is also found in the UK. Surveys conducted by the British social capital and UK's Citizen Audit on educational attainment at the age of 16, and the social capital of UK regions, produced similar results.

The positive correlation between social capital and capacity development is not only applicable to children who attend primary and high school, but also to adult learners at university, and those doing vocational training. The study conducted by Stack-Cutler *et al* (2015:323-324) on the social tie between adults learners with a history of reading difficulties revealed that most learners use their social ties, such as parents, spouse, and friends, to improve their academic performance and achievement, which sometimes tends to reach the same level as their peers. They mostly develop their personal ties through close relationships, institutional social bonds, including emotional and social support, and social media networking.

4.2.8 Social capital and economic growth

Economic growth, as explained in Chapter One, refers to the increase in the size of a country's economy and income per capita, which are generally measured by indicators such as the GDP and the GNP (Haller 2012). Since the popularisation of the social capital concept in the 1970s, many studies have been conducted to investigate the possible link between social capital and economic growth. As in the case of social assistance and capacity development discussed above, the majority of the findings revealed a positive relationship between social capital and economic growth (Halpern 2005; Putnam 2000; Neira, Vazquez & Portela 2009; Li, Wang, Westlund & Liu 2015; Ahmad & Hall 2017; Baldacchino 2005).

Halpern (2005:43-44) indicates that for an economy or market to function well, it requires a constant flow of information between actors, namely buyers and sellers, and the ability to enforce contracts and other business arrangements, in order to make things easy and cheap. This also depends on the business transaction costs for sales and purchases, such as legal and commission costs.

By looking at all of these business activities, it can be argued that they are all affected by social capital, where trust, norms, and sanctions are present. In other words, for buyers and sellers to be engaged in business transactions, they need to trust each other and to establish norms such as contracts or agreements, or sanctions in case a party fails to comply with the clauses of a contract or other type of arrangement. When these principles are taken into consideration, this will facilitate business transactions, and even reduce their costs, as well as eliminate or greatly reduce the need for expensive contractual agreements, thereby saving time and ultimately enhancing the economy.

To support the view of Harper, some scholars suggest that trust, which is one of the elements of social capital, constitutes an important determinant of economic growth (Ahmad & Hall 2017; Baldacchino 2005). Trust is often considered as a factor that facilitates the expansion of market activities, since individuals have the tendency to engage in business transactions with people whom they do not necessarily know very well. This will have an impact on the increase in mutually beneficial trade, and contribute towards the economic development of the country in general (Ahmad & Hall 2017:24). According to Baldacchino (2005:33), a society that is suffused with trust and social support among its members is subject to economic success. Similarly, Coleman (1998:98) suggests that people who work towards a common goal have the ability to succeed economically.

Putnam (2000:319, 325), who also supports the positive correlation between social capital and economic growth, argues that this relationship is more effective at the individual or micro-level. He illustrates this view by indicating that people who grow up in financially stable families with strong social and economic ties, are more likely to succeed in the economic marketplace, not only because of their higher financial and educational status, but also because of the use of their connections. Conversely, people who grow up in a poor and isolated environment struggle to succeed in the economic marketplace, not because of their tendency to be financially and educationally poor, but because of the weak social bonds that they have, which could give them a “hand up” (Putnam 2000: 319). With regard to the positive relationship between social capital and

economic growth at the meso and macro levels, Putnam is cautious regarding its efficacy, suggesting instead that more research needs to be done in this regard (Putnam 2000:325).

Despite the existence of numerous findings supporting the positive relationship between social capital and economic growth, there are some findings that oppose this relationship. Scholars such as Helliwell (1996) and Roth (2009) found a negative relationship between social capital and economic growth. Helliwell (1996), who investigated the correlation between social capital and economic growth in Asian countries, disagrees with the findings of Putnam, Inglehart and other scientists, which support the positive relationship between the two variables. He argues that their findings, which focus more on the US and some European countries, cannot be generalised to other countries, such as Asian countries. His findings revealed no positive relationship between the two variables in Asian countries, despite the strong social ties that exist in these countries. He suggests that most of these scholars, who used a cross-sectional analysis to justify their findings, did not take some important indicators into account, such as the culture or behaviour of different people in the world, especially the Asian countries, and the time change aspect. He indicates, for example, that the measures of social capital in 1990 are negatively opposed to those between 1962 and 1990.

Roth (2009:123-124), who used the panel data research method with samples from 41 countries between 1980 and 2004, and a total of 129 observations, also found a negative relationship between economic growth and trust (social capital). He argues that the correlation between the two variables, namely social capital and economic growth, depends on the level of trust in a country. In his investigation, he discovered that in countries with an initial low level of trust, an increase in trust often leads to an increase in economic growth. This is mainly found in developing countries, including Latin American countries. However, in countries with a high initial level of trust, an increase in interpersonal trust has the tendency to decrease economic growth. This is found mostly in Liberal Market Economies (LMEs) and Scandinavian countries.

4.3 THE CAPABILITY APPROACH

4.3.1 Meaning and history of the capability approach

The capability approach, which is also sometimes called the human development approach, is a broad normative framework used to evaluate the well-being and social arrangement of individuals, as well as to design public policies and proposals regarding social change in society (Robeyns 2003:5; Crocker & Robeyns 2010:61). In other words, it is a comparative approach that assesses the quality of life and theorises about the basis of social justice. The main focus of this approach is on determining whether individuals, through their capabilities, are able to do something and to be someone in society (Nussbaum 2011:18; Robeyns 2003:5). Like social capital theory, the capability approach is also used in many disciplines, including development studies, welfare economics, social policy, and social and political philosophy (Crocker & Robeyns 2010:61; Robeyns 2003:5).

Historically, the capability approach can trace its roots back to ancient times and scholars such as Aristotle, Adam Smith, John Stuart and Karl Marx, who were more concerned about the human freedom, socioeconomic justice and living conditions of citizens (Crocker & Robeyns 2010:61; Clark 2006:32; Robeyns 2003:5). However, it was only in the contemporary era that the capability approach was further developed by two imminent scholars, namely Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum (Crocker & Robeyns 2010:61; Robeyns 2003:5). Sen was the first to introduce the concept in 1979 at Stanford University, in his lectures on human values called “Equality of What”, where he questioned the adequacy of measuring equality in the space of marginal or total utility, or primary goods (Alkire & Deneulin 2009:31; Qizilbash 2012). According to him, the well-being and deprivation of people should not be measured by their opulence (income, commodity command) or utility (happiness, desire fulfilment), but by their human functioning and capability, in order to achieve valuable functioning (Ansari et al 2012; Sen 1993). Sen suggests that social arrangements should aim to expand people’s capabilities, as well as their

freedom to promote or achieve what they value doing and being (Alkire & Deneulin 2009:31).

Nussbaum, an American philosopher and professor of law, like Sen, also contributed greatly to the development of the capability approach. She agrees to some extent with Sen regarding the capability approach, which focuses on the capability space or comparison of quality of life (able to do and to be), political liberty, and social equality for each person. However, she goes beyond Sen's arguments by focusing more on the philosophical aspects of the capability approach (Nussbaum 2000:12). She criticises Sen's works for the lack of critical explanation or arguments in relation to issues such as relativism, human functioning, basic justice and a list of fundamental human capabilities (Nussbaum 2011:19; 2000:12). In her work, she emphasises the notions of human entitlement and social justice, which governments should respect and implement. In her view, to make social justice more effective, the capability approach should first be connected to human dignity and a life that is worthy of that dignity - in other words, a true human functioning. Inspired by Karl Marx's view of a human being as "being in need of the totality of human life-activities", Nussbaum first argues that capabilities are entitled to all people, and offer not only to quantify resources, but also offer opportunities for activities and functioning (Nussbaum 2011:74). Secondly, she argues that the capability approach should have a threshold or specific list of fundamental capabilities, which are considered as central requirements for a life of dignity. According to her, a society that fails to guarantee these for their citizens cannot be considered a just society (Nussbaum 2006:75). Thirdly, Nussbaum argues that the capability approach should also take into consideration the notion of political liberalism or political justice, given the fact that societies contain a variety of religious and secular views regarding human dignity, which may jeopardise the effective assessment of the quality of life in a society. Therefore, it is necessary to use political liberalism, which prescinds from offering a comprehensive account of value (Nussbaum 2011:19, 89).

4.3.2 Concepts of the capability approach

Despite the different views regarding the capability approach among scholars, they all seem to agree on the three main interdependent concepts of the capability approach, namely functioning, capability and agency (Deneulin & McGregor 2010; Sen 1999).

4.3.2.1 *Functioning*

Jacobson (2016:793), citing Sen, defines functioning as what an individual may value doing or being. In other words, it is about the various states of an individual and the number of activities that he/she can undertake. These functioning values generally range from elementary things, such as being in good health, being educated, having a good job, and being able to move and visit people, to the more complex things, such as having a decent job, being able to participate in community activities, and having self-respect (Robeyns 2016; Sen 1999:75; Deneulin & McGregor 2010: 503). Robeyns (2016) argues that functioning are constitutive parts of a human being, in the sense that each human being has at least a range of functioning, which makes his/her life both live (different to inanimate objects) and human (different to trees and animals).

Sen sees functioning as the well-being and ill-being achievement of a person, which consists not only of his or her current states and activities, but also his or her freedom or real opportunities to function beyond his or her current functioning (Crocker & Robeyns 2010: 63). From the capability approach perspective, Sen suggests that a person's well-being achievement should be conceptualised in terms of his or her capabilities to function, which is to seize opportunities, undertake actions and activities that he or she wants to be involved in, and be the person that he or she want to be. These actions and activities, and the freedom to engage in them, are what make a life valuable (Crocker & Robeyns 2010: 63).

4.3.2.2 *Capabilities*

According to Deneulin and McGregor (2010: 503), capabilities refer to the freedom of a person to enjoy doing valuable activities or to reach a valuable state. Capabilities may also refer to the multiple combinations of being and doing that an individual may achieve, or the substantive freedom that a person can have to live the kind of life that he or she values (Sen, quoted in Deneulin & McGregor 2010:503). Nussbaum (2011:20) clarifies these definitions by arguing that capabilities are not only abilities that a person possesses, but also refer to the freedom created through the combination of personal abilities, which are also influenced by the political, social, and economic environment.

There are three types of capabilities, namely basic capabilities, internal capabilities and combined capabilities (Nussbaum 2011; Bigabwenkya 2013). Basic capabilities refer to innate abilities or talents that an individual is born with, which constitute the basis of capabilities that can be developed at a later stage (Nussbaum 2011:84). The levels of functioning of these capabilities differ according to the age of the person. For example, the capabilities of hearing and seeing in a new-born child are sometimes more or less to function, but his/her capabilities for speech and language, gratitude, and work develop progressively (Robeyns 2003:19-20). Sen defines basic capabilities as a “subset of all capabilities that are related to individual’s freedom to perform certain basic things that are necessary for survival and escape poverty” (Robeyns 2005:101). He argues that basic capabilities are not chiefly concerned with ranking of the living standards of people, but with deciding on a cut-off point for the purpose of measuring people’s level of poverty and deprivation (Robeyns 2003:18). The UNDP goes beyond the description of basic capabilities as the innate capacities of individuals. It considers them as the capacities necessary for human development that leads to long and decent lives, including being well educated, gaining access to resources needed for a

good standard of living, and being able to actively participate in community activities (Bigabwenkya 2013:39).

Internal capabilities, which are different from innate equipment or abilities, are trained or developed abilities. They are generally developed in interaction with the social, economic, and political environment in which people live. They include abilities such as political skills, sewing skills, technical skills, self-confidence, and freedom from earlier fear (Nussbaum 2011:21). According to Robeyns (2005:104), internal capabilities are states of an individual, which allow him/her to make use of a specific capability in situations that he/she may face. Unlike basic capabilities, internal capabilities are considered as the mature level of readiness, although readiness sometimes takes time to reach the level of maturity. For example, a person is capable of sexual functioning only by growing up, but needs to be trained or advised on how to make use of his or her sexual functioning (Nussbaum 2000:84). Nussbaum (2011:21) suggests that countries or societies that want to promote human capacity development need to support the development of internal capabilities through education or skills development, resources to improve physical and emotional health, support for family care, and love.

Combined capabilities are the combination of the internal capabilities of an individual with suitable external conditions for the exercise of function (Nussbaum 2000:84-85; Alkire 2003:6; Lessmann 2007:4). Hypothetically, Lessmann (2007:4) explains this notion by arguing that “Combined capability” is given “*if and only if at [time] the person [has the internal capability] of A and there are no circumstances present that impede or prevent the exercise of A.*” In other words, combined capabilities include an individual’s combined characteristics, which comprise personality traits, intellectual and emotional abilities, states of physical fitness and health, learning, and skills of perception and movement (Nussbaum 2011:21).

Nussbaum (quoted in Alkire 2007:95) indicates that capabilities can assist in the construction of a normative conception of social justice. She criticises Sen's "perspective of freedom" as being too vague, because some freedoms limit others; some are good and some are bad; some are important and some are non-important. She believes that it is important to have a definite set of capabilities that consider all of the important social justice aspects. She therefore suggests a list of ten central human capabilities, which also constitute combined capabilities that nations and society have to consider for the human development of their citizens. These combined capabilities include:

- Life: being able to live a normal, long life, not to die prematurely;
- Bodily Health: being able to have good health; be well-nourished; be able to reproduce health; live in an acceptable shelter;
- Bodily integrity: being able to move freely from one place to another without being subject to various types of violence, such as sexual and domestic violence; enjoy sexual life and have a choice in reproduction matters;
- Senses, Imagination, and Thought: being able to have opinions that make sense; think, imagine and reason in a right way, supported by an adequate education or knowledge. Being able to make use of imagination and thought to produce and experience own work choice, religion, literacy, and so forth;
- Emotions: being able to have passion or attachment to things and people; to love people and care for them; to share their pain;
- Practical reason: being able to form a conception of good and engage in a reflection of life planning (e.g. protection for freedom of conscience and religion)
- Affiliation: being able to recognise and have concern for other people, to engage in various social networks. Being able to be treated with dignity and equal to others;
- Other Species: being able to have concern for the treatment of animals, plants and world nature;
- Play: being able to laugh, play and enjoy life;

- Control over One's Environment: politically, being able to freely make political choices; have the right to political involvement; have the right of free association. Materially, being able to own property, and have equal property rights with others (Nussbaum 2003:41-42; Alkire 2003:6-7).

In reaction to Nussbaum's list of combined capabilities, Sen agrees with the selection of key capabilities, but argues against the specification of only one canonical capabilities list that has to be applied at all times and in all circumstances (Sen, quoted in Alkire 2007:96).

4.3.2.3 *Agency*

According to Sen, agency refers to the ability of a person to pursue goals that he/she values and has reason to value (Deneulin & McGregor 2010: 504). In other words, it is about what a person does or is able to do in order to realise his or her goals or dreams (Crocker & Robeyns 2010:64). Alsop (2007:121) defines agency as an actor's ability to make significant choices, or to envisage and purposively choose the options. An agent or citizen agent is someone who acts and brings change in his life and the lives of others, and whose accomplishments can be judged based on his or her own values and objectives (Crocker & Robeyns 2010:80).

Sen argues that the social position of a person can be judged by his or her actual achievements or accomplishments (what a person manages to achieve or accomplish), and his or her freedom to achieve something with the real opportunity that he or she has to accomplish what he or she values (Crocker & Robeyns 2010:62). Thus, agency that is concerned with the abilities of a person to reach his/her goals has two dimensions, namely agency achievements and agency freedom. Sen describes agency achievement as a person's realisation of the goals and values that he or she has reason to pursue, irrespective of their connection to his or her well-being. Agency freedom, on the other hand is the freedom for a person to achieve whatever he or she decides to achieve (Crocker

& Robeyns 2010:62-64), or the freedom of a person to enjoy doing things (Binder 2014:1204). Robeyns (2003:07) indicates that people have the freedom to decide what kind of life they want to live, and the type of person they want to be. Once they have these freedoms, they can decide to act on them in line with how they want to live their lives. The two dimensions of agency are closely related to functioning and capabilities, with functioning being directly linked to achievement, what lives people lead, and capabilities being connected to the freedom people have in terms of their choice of life or functioning.

4.3.3 Limitations of the capability approach

Like any theory or approach, the capability approach also has limitations. The main criticism of the capability approach is its individualistic aspect. Many scholars view the capability approach as too individualistic, since it ignores the social milieu or environment that shapes individuals' lives (Poolman 2012; Osmani 2016; Robeyns 2003; Dean 2009; Tjelta 2005). Tjelta (2005:29), citing Deneulin and Stewart, argues that Sen failed to consider human or group interaction, due to the individualistic nature of the capability approach. According to them, the capability approach is more utilitarian in nature, where individuals are considered as atoms who get together for instrumental purposes only, and not as a fundamental aspect of their way of living. Consequently, it leads to some problems in evaluative exercises and the choice of capabilities. This criticism is rejected by Robeyns (2005:107-109), who argues that there is a distinction between ethical individualism and ontological individualism.

In ethical individualism, the emphasis is on who should be counted in evaluative exercises. In terms of ethical individualism, it is only individuals, as the units of moral concern, who should be counted. In the evaluation of different states of social life, the focus is more on direct and indirect effects on individuals' states. Ontological individualism focuses on the way in which human beings live their lives, and their relation to society, which is built by individuals. In other words, society is the sum of individuals and their properties. This means that a commitment to ethical individualism is compatible with ontology individualism,

which acknowledges the connections between individuals, as well as their social connections and embeddedness.

Another criticism of the capability approach is related to choice. In this regard, there is no guarantee that the choice of capabilities by individuals will produce positive functioning or results. According to Poolman (2012:377-378), an individual failure when deciding to convert resources into capabilities, and functioning into value, is not predictable. This weakens the capability approach's hypothesis that an individual is the right person to determine his or her own success. Furthermore, despite supporting Sen with regard to the criticism by some scholars of the individualistic nature of the capability approach, Robeyns (2003:39), is concerned about the selection of capabilities. The "act of reasoning" that is supported by Sen in the selection of capabilities may produce biased results in the evaluative exercises, especially in the research context. According to her, when the capability approach is used in a study context, biases can arise from the fact that the life, values and social networks of the researcher might influence the functioning that needs to be included.

A further criticism of the capability approach, based on Sen's viewpoint, is the absence of or difficulty in dealing with negative functioning. Clark (2005:1361-1362) argues that the capability approach, according to Sen, does not determine or explain how to deal with harmful functioning, as it is not possible to achieve total functioning. He argues that a person may be obliged to give up certain things in life to avoid bad things. For example, a student, in order to succeed in his or her studies, decides to stop going out with friends. Although this is a good idea as it will allow him or her to have more time to study, it does not guarantee that he or she will definitely pass exams or succeed in life, since there are many unpredictable factors that may arise, which will prevent him or her from achieving his or her goals. Based on these elements, Clark suggests that in order to be more realistic, Sen should attach negative weights to negative functioning, rather than striking them from the system altogether.

4.3.4 Capability approach and human dignity

The link between the capability approach and human dignity is further developed by Nussbaum, who links it to her list of fundamental human capabilities, as indicated above (Alkire 2005; Classen 2014; Nussbaum 2000; Stark 2009; Formosa & Mackenzie 2014; Hedge & Mackenzie 2012). However, before exploring the relationship between the capability approach and human dignity, it is important to first describe the concept of “human dignity”, in order to obtain a better understanding of this concept. Human dignity is subject to various meanings, depending on the contexts and disciplines in which it is used (Shultziner 2007:78; Chan & Bowpitt 2005:04). According to Duhaime's Law Dictionary (2017), human dignity refers to a person's self-esteem, self-worth, self-respect, physical and psychological integrity, and empowerment.

Rhoda Howard (quoted in Shultziner 2007:81) defines human dignity as “*a particular culture understanding of the inner moral worth of the human person and his or her political relation with society.*” According to Kan, human dignity is the absolute inner worth of human beings, which makes them equal to one another (Ackermann 2012: 56). Ackermann (2012:86) defines human dignity as the capacity and rights that a person possesses to be respected as a human being. In Nussbaum's view, human dignity is related to three notions, namely respect, agency and equality. Each person, for his or her dignity, expects respect from other people. The failure to be respected by others means that a person may feel dishonoured or disregarded, which may have a negative effect on his or her self-esteem. Human dignity is related to agency, in the sense that is concerned with what people are able to do, not their passive satisfaction. And finally, human dignity is related to equality, since all people are equal, and need to be treated equally in all circumstances, including before the law (Claassen 2014:242).

As indicated above, Nussbaum is one of the few scholars who discuss the link between human capabilities and human dignity. She argues that the best way to achieve the basic social minimum is to make use of the human capabilities approach - what people are able to do and to be - which makes human beings

worthy of dignity (Nussbaum 2006:70). From the human dignity perspective, she suggests that the capabilities approach should be pursued for each and every individual, treating each person as an end, and not using some people as mere tools for the ends of others (Nussbaum 2011:35, 2006:70). According to her, human capability and human dignity are interrelated concepts, in the sense that it is not conceivable to talk about human capability without linking it to human dignity. She demonstrates this link in her list of ten central human capabilities, which are discussed in the capabilities section of this chapter (Nussbaum 2006:70, 78; Formosa & Mackenzie 2014:875), where she focuses more on the capabilities that should be produced for each human being.

The basic idea with regard to this list is that a life without capabilities is not a life that is worthy of human dignity, and each person should be treated equally as an end. In addition, the link is related to the international agreement reached by United Nations members regarding basic human rights, where the capability approach is associated with the human rights approach, and human dignity is associated with human rights (Nussbaum 2006:78). According to Nussbaum (2006:75), this link should be used by all societies and nations that aspire towards the human development of their citizens. A society or nation that does not make effective use of this link for all its citizens, and neglects one element in the list falls short of being regarded as a complete and just society or nation, regardless of its level of opulence.

Although Nussbaum's link between the capability approach and human dignity has received much attention, it has also been criticised by many scholars. These critics argue, firstly, that the link does not have a theoretical basis, and that the list of ten fundamental human capabilities, which was drawn from different articles between the 1980s and 1990s, makes no reference to the concept of human dignity. Secondly, they question whether human dignity stimulates an attitude of respect, as Nussbaum, referring to the Aristotelian notion, indicates that there is something "*wonderful and wonder-inspiring*" in complex forms of human and animal nature. Their view is that respect, in the specific sense, means something that leads to a series of rights. It is possible to judge many things, without believing that they deserve respect. For example, someone can

judge a landscape as wonderful and wonder-inspiring, but this does not mean that it necessarily deserves rights-protecting respect (Claassen 2014: 245-246).

Let us now look at the impact that social assistance has on the human dignity of the beneficiaries. As poverty has been acknowledged as a violation of human dignity or human rights, social assistance, which helps to reduce poverty, is regarded as an instrument that protects the human dignity of the beneficiaries. Human dignity, which is concerned with respect, as well as the ability to do something and be treated equally, as described by Nussbaum (Claassen 2014:242), is also related to the human capacity for autonomy and mutuality (Chan & Bowpitt 2005). This means that social assistance beneficiaries, in order to claim their human dignity, need to reach a point where they become autonomous and self-sufficient from social assistance. To reach this level, some social assistance programmes, especially in developed countries such as the USA, UK, Canada and Hong Kong, have changed their ways of providing social assistance. Instead of simply providing financial assistance to the beneficiaries based on their needs, most of these social assistance programmes are subject to the fulfilment of certain conditions, such as doing community work, attending vocational training courses, or accepting temporary government work (Chan & Bowpitt 2005:04-05). This may help recipients, especially those who attend vocational training courses, to acquire skills that can help them to become capacitated, get better jobs, and enjoy more autonomy and human dignity.

In South Africa, the Department of Social Development, through its sustainable livelihood programme, works in partnership with non-profit organisations (NPOs) that are involved in skills development for vulnerable people. This partnership includes funding these NPO programmes to provide professional training to the youth of vulnerable households, especially the beneficiaries of social grants, and to then find employment for them. This helps them to improve the living conditions of their households, exit from the social grants programme, and regain their human dignity (South Africa, DSD n.d.).

4.3.5 The capability approach and the intergenerational transfer of social capital

Intergenerational transfer refers to the transmission of knowledge, skills, and financial or material benefits from a person of one generation to a person of another generation. Generally, this transmission, unlike a loan or purchase, does not require the recipient to repay the giver directly or indirectly. Often, it refers to the transfer across generations of kin, such as from a father to a child, or a grandparent to a grandchild (Lee 2014: 223). Although this kind of transfer does not necessarily involve a quid pro quo between the giver and the receiver, it often involves an understanding or an expectation that the recipient will make the same transfer to someone of the next generation in a symmetric position, and so on (Lee 2014:240). This means that an investment in a generation may have a sustainable impact on the future generation. In the context of this study, an investment in the human capacity development of vulnerable people through social assistance can help them to acquire the necessary skills to enhance their employability in the labour market, and to improve their living conditions. This will also help them to transfer their skills to the future generation, and look after their social and economic needs.

The link between the capability approach and intergenerational transfer has not been extensively researched by scholars, as there are very few studies that discuss this link. Among those who have studied this relationship, there are two views, namely those who believe that the capability approach has a strong impact on intergenerational transfer, and those who indicate that there is only a partial relationship between the two variables. Scholars who support the strong impact of the capability approach on intergenerational transfer include Biggeri, Libanora, Mariani and Menchini (2006). Biggeri *et al* (2006:63-64), who focused on the link between the capability approach and intergenerational transfer from parents to children, argue that the capabilities of parents may directly and indirectly influence the capabilities of the child - this refers to the intergenerational transfer of capability between parents and children. For example, a parent can transfer his or her skills or knowledge to his or her child through training, or by paying his or her child's school fees for school or

university, in order to improve the capabilities (functioning) of the child. This might have a positive impact on the child's wellbeing and his or her future generations.

The opposite view is expressed by Gutwald, Leßmann, Masson and Rauschmayer (2014:365), who conducted research on the link between the capability approach and intergenerational justice, focusing mainly on the works of Sen and Nussbaum. According to them, the link is only possible if it is supplemented by other social approaches or theories that can provide the necessary insight, as it is confronted with certain issues. Firstly, they argue that the capability approach only presents a partial theory of justice that provides a set of principles to guide decisions regarding how and when capabilities should be distributed. They suggest that the theory of justice or capability approach should at least contain some concrete guidelines.

Although Nussbaum provides a list of fundamental human capabilities as a basis, this list does not spell out the basic dimensions and levels of well-being. Secondly, some of the main problems of the intergenerational context may only be partially addressed by the capability approach. For example, the capability approach can seldom be used to handle intergenerational conflicts of justice. It is a complex task to provide justification for the view that the claims of the present generation should be curtailed to satisfy the claims of the future generation. This would mean curtailing the capabilities of the present generation in a more or less severe manner. Thirdly, the problem of how people should be motivated to protect the capabilities of other people (next generation) is rarely addressed by capability theorists. Although Nussbaum (2006) emphasises the respect for human dignity, and Sen (2010) claims that the present generation can help the future generation, it is unclear if the present generation can preserve the capabilities of future generations by curtailing their own capabilities.

Despite the disagreement regarding the link between the capability approach and intergenerational transfer, this study has attempted to link social assistance from the government to the capabilities approach and intergenerational transfer.

The aim here is to determine whether the social assistance provided by the government in the form of social grants to beneficiaries helps them to become capacitated, and in their turn, to also capacitate the next generation.

4.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the researcher discussed the theoretical framework used in the study, namely social capital theory and the capability approach. The first section of this chapter focused on social capital, which was popularised in the 1980s and 1990s by scholars such as Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman, Robert Putnam and Nan Lin. Despite various definitions of social capital being provided by different scholars, this study selected the definition provided by Lin, who considered social capital as an investment in social relationships for an expect return. The two main actors in this study are the government, which provides social assistance to poor citizens, and the recipients of this assistance, who use this social assistance to improve their capacities and wellbeing. In return, they contribute to the economic growth of the country through the payment of taxes.

In this chapter the researcher also discussed the link between social capital and social assistance, in which the literature reveals, on the one hand, a negative relationship known as the “Crowding-out hypothesis”, where social assistance recipients rely more on government funding for survival, which creates a dependency culture. On the other hand, the literature reveals a positive relationship known as the “crowding-in hypothesis”, where some social assistance programmes may positively influence the formation of social networks and embeddedness of social norms, which provide universal access to full social citizenship.

The link between social capital and human capacity development was also discussed in this chapter. In this regard, the literature reveals a positive relationship between the two concepts on all social capital levels. Scholars argue that social networks facilitate the flow of information and knowledge, and improve the performance of young and adult learners. The link between social capital and economic growth revealed a positive relationship, as trust between

actors, namely buyers and sellers, facilitates transactions. However, some scholars support the existence of a negative relationship, due to the different cultures and behaviours of the actors, especially in Asian countries.

The second section of the chapter discussed the capability approach, which assesses the capacities and wellbeing of individuals. The meaning and concepts of capability, namely functioning, capabilities and agency, were discussed. The chapter also examined the link between capability and human dignity, with a focus on the works of Nussbaum, and the link between the capability approach and intergenerational transfer in relation to social assistance.

In light of the two theories discussed above, the findings of this study will first make use of the capacity approach to evaluate the current South African social assistance system, in order to determine whether it empowers the beneficiaries to improve their living conditions, exit from social assistance programmes, and contribute to the economic growth of the country. Secondly, if there is a need to improve the current South African social assistance system with regard to the human capacity development of the beneficiaries, social capital theory, based on Lin's approach, will be used to help this study to achieve its objectives.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the methodology followed when conducting the study. The research design, including qualitative research, as well as explorative and case study approaches, which were chosen for this study, are discussed in this chapter. In addition, the researcher discusses the population and sampling techniques used in this study, including the procedure for recruiting and accessing research participants. In this chapter the researcher also outlines the data collection techniques used in this study, namely in-depth interviews and observation, and the profile of research participants. Lastly, the procedure for analysing data in this study, including interview transcription, measures of trustworthiness, and ethical considerations, are discussed in this chapter.

5.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

According to Babbie (2014:120), a research design refers to the decision that is made by the researcher regarding the topic and population to be studied, the research methods to use, and the purpose of the research study. Polit, Beck and Hungler (2001:167) define a research design as the overall plan that assists to answer research questions or to test the research hypothesis. It spells out strategies that the researcher adopts to develop evidence that is accurate and easily interpretable (Polit & Beck 2004:162).

The research design of this study is a qualitative research approach that is explorative in nature, using a case study of households affected by HIV and AIDS as beneficiaries of social grants, who were selected from two main informal settlements in Pretoria, South Africa, namely Olievenhoutbosch and Jeffsville. As explained in chapter one, the two research sites were selected, firstly, due to their closeness to the researcher's place of residence. The

researcher lives in central Pretoria or the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, which is about 26 km away from Olivenhoutbosch, and 22 km from Jeffsville. This strategic position allowed the researcher to visit the two research sites and the research participants regularly and with ease, and at a low cost, in order to collect data. Secondly, the researcher selected the two informal settlements due to their higher level of unemployment, poverty and HIV (Mashego 2015; Kabanyane 2006; Mosweu 2014). The two informal settlements are discussed in detail in section 5.7 of this chapter.

5.3 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH AS THE CHOSEN APPROACH FOR THE STUDY

5.3.1 Definitions

Qualitative research does not have a precise definition because it is used as an overarching category for a wide range of approaches and methods found within different disciplines (Snape & Spencer 2003:2; Lichtman 2010:5). Despite the diversity of opinions regarding the true meaning of qualitative research, some scholars have attempted to provide practical working definitions that encompass the characteristics associated with qualitative research.

Among these scholars are Merriam and Tisdell (2016:15), who consider qualitative research as an umbrella term, which covers an array of interpretative techniques that seek to describe, decode, and translate the meaning of certain phenomena that occur naturally in the world. Denzin and Lincoln (cited in Snape & Spencer 2003:02) offer the following definition:

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretative, material practices that makes the world visible. These practices...turn the world into a series of representations including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves and interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of meanings people bring to them.

According to Lichtman (2010:05):

Qualitative research is a general term. It is a way of knowing in which a researcher gathers, organizes, and interprets information obtained from humans using his or her eyes and ears as filters. It is often involved in-depth interviews and/or observation of humans in natural and social settings. It can be contrasted with quantitative research, which relies heavily on hypothesis testing, cause and effect, and statistical analysis.

According to Patton (cited in Merriam & Tisdell 2016:15):

Qualitative research is an effort to understand situations in their uniqueness as part of a particular context and the interactions there. This understanding is an end in itself, so that it is not attempting to predict what may happen in the future necessarily, but to understand the nature of that setting – what it means for participants to be in that setting, what their lives are like, what's going on for them, what their meanings are, what the world looks like in that particular setting - and in the analysis to be able to communicate that faithfully to others who are interested in that setting The analysis strives for depth of understanding.

Green and Thorogood (2009:5) state that qualitative research is not characterised by the kind of data that is produced or methods used to produce it, but by the overall description of the aims of the study, which seek to answer questions regarding the 'what', 'how' or 'why' of a phenomenon.

In light of the above, despite the similarity of the definitions, the researcher's view is that the meaning of qualitative research, as expressed by Green and Thorogood, is most relevant to this study. This is because the study aims to understand how the social assistance provided to poor and vulnerable people in South Africa by government, especially households affected by HIV and AIDS, impacts on their human capacity development and sustainable livelihood. In other words, the researcher chose the qualitative method to investigate the reasons for poor people in South Africa increasingly applying for social grants, and for their continued dependence on this assistance. This is despite the developmental aspect of social grants, which aims to capacitate beneficiaries in

order to improve their living conditions, and to enable them to contribute to the economic development of the country.

5.3.2 Nature of qualitative research

Scholars' differences in opinion regarding the meaning of qualitative research has not prevented them from agreeing on some common characteristics of qualitative research (Creswell 2014; Hatch 2002; Marshall & Rossman 2011). According to Creswell (2014: 185–186), qualitative research has the following characteristics:

- **Natural setting:** Qualitative researchers have the tendency to collect data in the research field where participants experience the problems or issues that are under study. They normally gather information by talking directly to the people or having face-to-face interactions with research participants over time in their homes or workplaces. In this study, the researcher had face-to-face interactions with research participants in convenient places where they usually spend their time, such as workplaces and homes, in order to collect information.
- **Researcher as key instrument:** Qualitative researchers collect data themselves, or may make use of research assistants, through interviewing participants, observing people's behaviours, or examining documents related to the research. In this study, the researcher collected data himself through face-to-face interviews with research participants, with the assistance of two interpreters. To collect data, the researcher also carefully examined documents related to the research, and observed the attitude and behaviour of the research participants during the research site visits.
- **Multiple data collection instruments:** Qualitative researchers make use of various instruments to collect information, such as interviews, observations, field notes, documents and audio-visual material, rather than focusing on a single data source. Thereafter, the researcher makes

sense of data by examining the collected data, interpreting it, and organising it into themes and/or categories that cut across all of the data sources (Creswell 2014:185). In this study, the researcher made use of interviews, observations, field notes, documents and audio-visual materials, such as a tape-recording machine and cell phone, to collect data, and followed the necessary processes to organise the collected data into themes and categories. The data collection and analysis processes followed in this study are discussed in detail in sections 5.7 and 5.8 of this chapter.

- **Inductive and deductive data analysis:** Qualitative researchers have the tendency to build their themes and categories from the bottom up, by organising the data into increasingly more abstract units of information (Creswell 2014: 186). This inductive process allows the researchers to work back and forth between the themes and database, until they are able to establish a comprehensive set of themes. Thereafter, using a deductive approach, they check data from the themes to determine if there are relevant facts to support each theme. Thus, inductive and deductive thinking plays an important role in data collection and data analysis. In this study, the researcher used the induction and deductive process to build themes and categories, by organising data from the bottom up in order to achieve the objectives of the research.
- **Participants' meanings:** In qualitative research, the researcher focuses on the meaning that research participants attach to the research problems or issues, so that he or she is able to provide an adequate interpretation of these issues. The findings of this study are subject to the meaning that research participants have provided in relation to the research topic, which the researcher interprets and discusses with the support of the views of other scholars, as expressed in the literature.
- **Emergent design:** The qualitative research process is emergent in the sense that the initial research plan cannot always be strictly followed, as some or all of the phases of the process may be changed or shifted by

the researcher in the research field and during the data collection process. For example, the questions, method of data collection and research site may be changed, shifted or modified. However, the most important idea of qualitative research is that the researcher learns about or gains insight into the problems or issues from the participants. In this study, some phases of the research process were modified, such as the initial questions and key words in the interview guide, in order to facilitate a better understanding of the questions by the participants. Furthermore, some research sites were changed during data collection due to the unavailability of suitable research participants.

- **Reflexivity:** The enquirers in qualitative research often reflect on their role in the study, and how their background, culture, and everyday experiences hold potential for shaping their understanding of the themes and categories that they advance, and the meaning that they attribute to the data. This aspect of the research method not only advances biases and values in the study, as the background of the researcher may also influence the direction of the study. In this study, the researcher has reflected on his role during the entire research process, as well as his personal background and culture, in order to avoid any biases on his part.
- **Holistic account:** The enquirers in qualitative research often prefer to develop a complex image of issue under study. This may comprise reporting different perspectives, identifying various factors involved in a situation, and sketching the larger picture that emerges. The findings and conclusion of this study therefore provide a picture of the problems and issues that were investigated.

5.3.3 Strengths and limitations of qualitative research

Like any other research method, qualitative research has strengths and limitations, which have a serious impact on the quality of the topic under study. Qualitative research produces a thick and detailed description of the

participants' behaviour, feelings or emotions, opinions and experience, and interprets the meaning of their actions, which are difficult with research methods such as quantitative research (Klenke 2008:12; Madrigal & McClain 2012). Through interviews and observation, the researcher can obtain important information related to the phenomenon under study (Ashley, Takyi & Obeng 2016:64) One of the main strengths of this study is that the researcher was closer to the research participants when collecting data through face-to-face interviews and observation in the research settings. During this process, he could detect the emotions and behaviour of the research participants, especially when responding to emotional questions. The researcher was also able to experience the living and working conditions of the research participants, and match them with what they were saying.

The use of a tape-recording machine also made it easier for the researcher to capture the words and language of the research participants as they responded to the interview questions. In addition, the researcher could get access to the recorded information whenever necessary (Ashley *et al* 2016:64).

Flexibility is another strength of qualitative research. As explained above, the researcher can modify his or her research design at any time, which is difficult with other research methods (Babbie 2014:334). In this study, the researcher modified many initial plans, such as the interview guide, research sites.

Furthermore, qualitative research is less expensive than other research methods, such as quantitative research, which may require costly equipment and/or an expensive research team. In qualitative research, the researcher can conduct the whole study with only a pen and a notebook (Babbie 2014:334). In this study, the researcher undertook virtually the entire research process by himself, with only some assistance from interpreters during the interview phase, as he was not familiar with the local languages spoken by the research participants.

Despite the strengths of qualitative research, it does have some limitations. One of the major disadvantages or limitations of qualitative research is the lack

of generalisability of the results (Babbie 2014; Pitney & Parker 2009; Alison 2005; Bellenger, Bernhardt & Goldstucker 2011; Holloway & Galvin 2017). With qualitative research, it is very difficult to arrive at a statistical description of a large population (Babbie 2014: 334). This is due to the fact that data is collected from a few people or cases, which can compromise the generalisability of the findings (Alison 2005:33). This view is supported by Bellenger *et al.* (2011:47), who indicate that the samples used in qualitative research are mostly small and judgmental. It is difficult to make a precise inference from such sample to a large and diverse population. The limitations of this study are related to the number of research participants, which was 36 in total, and the number of research settings, as only two informal settlements in Pretoria were selected for the study. Although the data provided by them was representative of the whole country, the findings of the study cannot be generalised to all households affected by HIV and AIDS in South Africa who receive social grants.

Another limitation of qualitative research is that the researcher or interviewer must be highly trained (Alison 2005:33; Bellinger *et al* 2011:47; Sudeshna & Datt 2016). The quality of the research depends on the level of skills of the researcher, as he or she is responsible for gathering, analysing and interpreting data (Alison 2005:33; Sudeshna & Datt 2016). Therefore, the use of unskilled researchers or moderators may bias the findings of the research, or particular problems may go unnoticed (Sudeshna & Datt 2016; Bellinger *et al* 2011:47). Thus, in order to avoid this, it is important to use experienced personnel or check the results with other qualitative research experts. However, such expertise is not only costly, but also difficult to locate and acquire (Bellinger *et al* 2011:47). In this study, the researcher, although he has experience in the qualitative research process, made use of his supervisor, who is also a qualitative research expert, to check the quality of the data and findings.

5.4 EXPLORATIVE APPROACH

The explorative approach is quite valuable in social science research, and may be used for multiple purposes in qualitative and quantitative research (Babbie 2014:96). It is generally used when the researcher investigates a new interest,

or when the subject of the research is relatively new or few studies have been done on it, which means that there is a lack of adequate data, information or knowledge in this area (Babbie 2014:94; Hutlinger 2012:168; Ncelankavil 2007:104; Jupp 2006:110). In this study, the researcher used the explorative approach because very few studies have been conducted on the impact of social grants on the human capacity development of the beneficiaries, who are members of households affected by HIV and AIDS in South Africa. He wanted to gain insight into the perceptions of recipients regarding how social grants assist in alleviating their poverty and enabling them to contribute towards the economic development of the country.

The explorative approach is also used when the researcher wants to generate or build a theory (Jupp 2006:110). In other words, the explorative approach is considered as a source of grounded theory, where the researcher attempts to build a theory through common themes and categories found in the collected data, as well as through observation (Babbie 2014:95, 315). In this study, through the data collected during interviews and observations, the researcher produced a conceptual framework that links social assistance, capacity development, poverty alleviation and economic development.

The shortcoming of explorative approach is that it barely provides acceptable answers to research questions, despite its ability to suggest relevant research methods that can provide definitive answers to the subject under study. This is due to the problem of representativeness, as most exploratory research involves a small group of people, rather than a large population (Babbie 2014:95). In this study, however, despite the limited number of research participants, those who were studied using the explorative approach, namely beneficiaries of social grants who are members of households affected by HIV and AIDS, represent a large population of people in South Africa. Currently, there are seven million people who are living with HIV in South Africa (Statistics South Africa 2016a), and about 45% of households receive at least one social grant (Statistics South Africa 2016b). Therefore, the use of an explorative approach in this study is likely to provide acceptable answers to the research objectives.

5.5 CASE STUDY RESEARCH

Case studies are mostly used in organisational and social science research. Many qualitative researchers make frequent use of case studies to conduct qualitative inquiries. This is due to the fact that despite being a complex and difficult research method, case study research allows the investigator or researcher to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events or situations (Klenke 2008:58). Case study research is compatible with many data sources, which makes its definition as a research strategy difficult. Many scholars who define case study research have the tendency to link it to their fields of interest, thereby making one definition broader than the other (Swanborn 2010:12). This study, which relies more on the socioeconomic conditions of households affected by HIV and AIDS living in informal settlements, made use of some scholars' case study definitions. According to Babbie (2014:318), case study research refers to the in-depth examination of a single instance of time or a group of people sharing certain characteristics, such as a family, household, or community. In other words, it attempts to find the connection between phenomena and the context in which they occur, especially where the connection is not apparent at first. According to Klenke (2008:59), citing Stake, case study research is an exploration of a bounded, integrated system through in-depth data collection, using various sources of information and rich context.

Yin (2014:16-17), who wrote extensively on case study research, provides a twofold definition of a case study. Firstly, he considers a case study as an empirical inquiry that examines a modern phenomenon in depth and within its real context, especially when the limits between phenomenon and context may not be clearly palpable. Secondly, he considers a case study as an inquiry that

- Deals with the technically situation in which there will be more variables of interest than data points, and as one result;
- Relies on various sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating mode, and as another result;

- Benefits from prior development of theoretical propositions to conduct data collection and analysis.

In light of the above, this study relies on the case study definition provided by Yin, which refers to the attempt to find a connection between phenomena and the context in which they occur, where this connection is not apparent at first. Thus, this study made use of a case study of households affected by HIV and AIDS who are beneficiaries of social grants, and who live in the informal settlements of Olievenhoutbosch and Jeffsville in Pretoria, South Africa. The aim of this case study is to gain insight into the human capacity development experienced by a group of people who receive social assistance or social grants from the government.

5.5.1 Case study as the chosen method for this study

The case study approach is generally chosen when the researcher seeks to obtain answers to the “how” and “why” questions, and when he or she has insufficient control over events, as well as when the focus is based on the current phenomenon in real life (Klenke 2008:63; Yin 2014:10). Such phenomenon may be a project or programme (e.g. social assistance programme) that is under evaluation. Sometimes, the definition or goals of this project or programme may be problematic in terms of determining when its activities started and ended, and what impact it has on the lives of the beneficiaries (Yin 2003:04). Taylor and Sondergaard (2017:42) argue that many researchers prefer to use the case study approach, as it allows them to scrutinise the complex relationships between data, and to interpret the results based on their relevance for practice, rather than using mechanical processes.

This study chose the case study approach to allow the researcher to investigate how the beneficiaries of social assistance (social grants) make use of their grants to develop their human capacity. The sought also sought to determine why most the social grant recipients, despite being beneficiaries for a long time and regularly receiving their social grants, are still dependent on these grants for their survival. Politicians, socio-economists, scholars and other development

stakeholders are questioning the impact of government social assistance spending on the human capacity development of beneficiaries, as well as on the improvement of their living conditions.

5.5.2 Single and multiple case studies

According to Yin (2014:541), researchers who use the case study approach should, prior to any data collection, decide whether to use a single case study or multiple case studies (Yin 2014:51). This decision should be based on several factors. Firstly, the selection of cases should be consistent with the epistemological assumptions that the researcher makes about the topic or phenomenon to be studied (Klenke 2008:64). Secondly, the selection of cases often relies on the theoretical or purposive sampling strategies to be employed when studying the phenomenon under investigation. In other words, cases are often selected when the researcher wants to build a new theory or introduce new ideas on an existing theory (Yin 2014:51; Klenke 2008: 64). Finally, the choice of the types of case studies is influenced by the resources that are available, such as the contact that the researcher has with research participants, the ease with which the researcher can travel to the research sites, processing of collected data, and other practical issues of importance (Klenke 2008:64).

A **single case study**, which refers to a case study organised around a single case, is, according to Yin (2014:51-53), generally chosen when the case is either critical, unusual, common, revelatory, or longitudinal. A researcher may select a single case that is *critical* to the theory or theoretical proposition that he or she plans to use in his or her research. In this case, the single case can be used to determine whether the suggestions or propositions are correct, or whether some set of alternatives might be more appropriate. The second rationale for using a single case is when the case seems to be *unusual* or *extreme* in relation to everyday occurrence, and deviates from theoretical norms. For instance, this can happen when recipients of social grants are engaged in illegal activities, such as prostitution or crime, in order to survive. The third rationale for using a single case is when the case appears to be a *common* case. Here, the main objective is to gain insight into the conditions or circumstances of everyday

situations, which may assist in the building of a new theory or extension of an existing theory. The fourth rationale for a single case is the *revelatory* case. This type of case occurs when the researcher is willing to study a phenomenon that was previously inaccessible to social research. For instance, when the researcher wants to study the use of internet by uneducated elderly people in an informal settlement. The fifth rationale for a single case is the *longitudinal* case. This type of case occurs when the researcher intends to study the same single case at different points in time. The main objective is to determine how certain conditions change over time.

A **multiple case study** refers to a case study that is organised around two or more cases (Yin 2014:239). In this type of case study, the same questions are used to collect data from different organisations or groups of people at different sites (Klenke 2008:65). According to Yin (2014: 61), the rationale for using multiple case studies arises from the understanding of literal and theoretical replications. Pauwels and Mattysens (2004: 129-130) distinguish four pillars of a multiple case study, namely theoretical sampling, triangulation, pattern-matching logic, and analytical generalisation. In *theoretical sampling*, the investigator selects both typical and atypical cases in order to strengthen an emerging theory. In *triangulation*, the researcher makes use of data sources, such as interviewing many respondents on the same topic, or interviewing the same respondents on a particular topic more than once, or combining primary and secondary data sources. The aim of this type of multiple case study is to compensate for the weaknesses of one method/source through the strengths of another method/source. In *pattern-matching logic*, the researcher compares the emerged pattern between single cases, in order to facilitate a better understanding of events or the causal relationship between events. Finally, in *analytical generalization*, the researcher, after explaining the relationship between events in a pattern model, must decide whether to generalise the relationships between events.

In this study, the researcher used the multiple case study approach, where recipients of social assistance from two informal settlements, namely Olievenhoutbosch and Jeffsville, in Pretoria, South Africa, were selected to

facilitate the building of a conceptual framework that links social assistance, human capacity development, poverty alleviation and economic growth. The choice of the multiple case study approach also assisted the researcher, through triangulation, to make use of many data sources, including respondents from different research sites, in order to eliminate or reduce biases in the research findings. Pattern-matching logic and analytical generalisation were also used to assist in the generalisation of the research findings.

5.6 POPULATION AND SAMPLING TECHNIQUE

In the context of research, the term 'population' refers to a particular group of people from which a sample is drawn, and to whom the results obtained from the sample are generalised (Neuman 2011: 241; Grove, Burns & Gray 2013: 351). The sample, however, represents a small group of people or events within a larger population that has been selected for research (Neuman 2011: 240; Grove *et al* 2013: 351).

5.6.1 Determination of research population groups and their size

The determination of a research population is subjected to people who are information-rich with regard to the phenomenon that is under study (Hennik, Hutter & Bailey 2011:85). Streubert and Carpenter (2011:28) argue that the sample of research participants should originate from the group of people who have first-hand experience of the phenomenon to be studied.

To identify an information-rich population for this study, the researcher focused on recipients of social grants who are members of households affected by HIV and AIDS, and who live in informal settlements. The researcher chose this group of people because they live in locations that have the highest rates of HIV, poverty and unemployment in South Africa (See Chapter One). Consequently, most of the dwellers depend on social grants for their survival.

Aside from the beneficiaries of social grants, the researcher believed that it was necessary to include other population groups who could provide relevant

information for this study. The first population group included caregivers and social workers from non-profit organisations (NPOs). This is because this category of people constantly assists households affected by HIV and AIDS who are beneficiaries of social grants, by providing social, emotional, physical and financial support. This means that they are aware of the socioeconomic challenges that these people face every day of their lives. The second population group consisted of the officials of the DSD and SASSA. This category of people is responsible for the development and implementation of social assistance (social grants) policies and programmes, and holds information regarding the impact of social grants on human capacity development and the improvement of the living conditions of the beneficiaries.

5.6.2 Sampling

Due to the large number of households in South Africa who are affected by HIV and AIDS and receive social grants, as well as the financial and logistical constraints, the researcher, after consulting with his supervisor, decided to focus on the Gauteng Province of South Africa, in particular the city of Pretoria, where he resides. In this city, heads of households affected by HIV and AIDS who are recipients of social grants, aged between 18 and 50 years, and living in the Olievenhoutbosch and Jeffsville informal settlements, were identified as samples. The decision to target this age group was important to the researcher, as it is comprised of people who are adults, and capable of managing social grants and other forms of household income. Furthermore, people in this age group have the potential to acquire new skills that can help them get a better job and improve their living conditions, including those of the entire household. However, heads of households in this study do not represent units of observation or units of analysis, but acted as proxies of their households, as none of them were single member households.

After consulting with his supervisor, the researcher decided to select the following samples for this study:

- 18 heads of households affected by HIV and AIDS who are beneficiaries of social grants, and living in Olievenhoutbosch and Jeffsville informal settlements (9 from each informal settlement);
- caregivers, including social workers, from two NPOs (3 for each NPOs) that provide services to households affected by HIV and AIDS who are beneficiaries of social grants in the Olievenhoutbosch and Jeffsville informal settlements;
- DSD officials, including SASSA officials, who are involved in the development and implementation of social grants and capacity development policies and programmes.

The researcher was of the view that the above sample size (30 in total) would assist in achieving saturation and reaching the objectives of the study. Grove *et al* (2013: 371-372), argue that the determination of the sample size in qualitative research, in order to achieve saturation of data, depends on the nature, design and scope of the study, as well as the quality of the data. However, the researcher ended up interviewing 36 people from different research participant categories including two heads of households with ages above 60 years and two research participants operating and living outside the research settings due to unexpected situations. For example, in some households visited, two or more members wanted to participate in the study. Also due to insufficient skills development centres in the research settings, the researcher had to conduct interviews with a NPO official and a beneficiary, who operate and live in Lusaka informal settlement of Mamelodi in Pretoria. Details of research participants are provided in section 5.8.1 of this chapter.

5.6.3 Gaining access to research participants

Gaining access to research participants, especially the DSD and SASSA officials, was not an easy task due to the nature of the research and categories of interviewees. In order to gain access to the research participants from the DSD and SASSA, the researcher had to send letters to the research sections of these two institutions requesting permission to conduct interviews with their

officials, including the NPOs that were part of their programmes. These letters were accompanied by the research proposal, as well as the university's letter of introduction to the fieldwork research PhD project, and proof of ethical clearance. Once approval of the request, supported by official letters (See Appendix D), had been granted, the researcher contacted relevant persons to assist with research documents and/or interviews.

In the DSD Gauteng, the researcher was in contact with the HIV/AIDS unit, the Sustainable Livelihoods unit, and the Children and Family Benefits unit, where he collected the necessary documents, and conducted interviews with some of the staff. These units also assisted the researcher to contact some of the NPOs that are part of their programmes in Pretoria. In SASSA, the researcher was in contact with the national executive of grants administration and other local staff with whom he conducted interviews. This process took more than two months.

Gaining access to the NPOs was not as difficult as in the case of the DSD and SASSA, because the DSD programme supervisors, on behalf of the researcher, had already approached the people responsible for these NPOs, in order to request their assistance in the collection of data. The researcher first had a series of meetings with the centre managers of these NPOs to explain the purpose of the research, as well as their envisaged role. The majority of them were interested in the project, and granted approval for their staff to be interviewed by the researcher. They also assisted the researcher in contacting those clients (social grant beneficiaries affected by HIV and AIDS) who met the required criteria for possible interviews.

Furthermore, gaining access to heads of households was even easier, as the majority of them were already informed about the researcher's visit to their homes, and they were all willing to participate in the research. They were also aware that, despite being members of households affected by HIV and AIDS, the questions in the interviews would not focus on their or other household members' HIV status, but would only deal with social grants and their impact on human capacity development.

5.7 STUDY SETTING

The study setting is usually a specific place where information or data is gathered. A study may take place in its natural setting, such as the home, community or workplace; or in a controlled setting, such as a laboratory. The researcher decides where the study should take place, based on the nature of the research goals and objectives, and the types of data that are needed (Polit & Beck 2012:49). Due to the nature of this study, the researcher opted for a natural setting, which in this case was the Olievenhoutbosch and Jeffsville informal settlements. In the following paragraphs, the two research settings are described.

5.7.1 Olievenhoutbosch

Olievenhoutbosch is a formal and informal settlement in Pretoria, South Africa, situated between Centurion and Midrand, and covering an area of 11.39 km² (van der Linde, Swanepoel, Glascoe, Louw & Vinck 2015; Mashego 2015). It is a mixed settlement, whereby one finds developed areas with Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) houses, shopping centres, and tarred roads on the one side, while on the other side, there are underdeveloped or informal settlement areas, such as Choba, which are characterised by shacks and an absence of tarred roads. Most of the roads in that area are not level and are full of potholes, making it difficult to access by car, especially when it rains. However, both areas have access to water and electricity (Mashego 2015:12, citing CTMM).

Table 5.1: Olievenhoutbosch demographic profile

Gender	Number of People	Percentage
Male	38351	54.12%
Female	32512	45.88%
Population group	Number of People	Percentage
Black African	69467	98.03%
Other	817	1.15%
Coloured	395	0.56%

Indian or Asian	110	0.16%
White	74	0.10%
First language	Number of People	Percentage
Sepedi	23008	32.58%
isiZulu	10008	14.17%
Other	6269	8.88%
isiNdebele	5631	7.97%
isiXhosa	5039	7.14%
Setswana	4829	6.84%
Sesotho	4517	6.40%
Xitsonga	4133	5.85%
Tshivenda	2574	3.64%
English	2514	3.56%
SiSwati	1116	1.58%
Afrikaans	745	1.05%
Sign language	240	0.34%

Source: Frith (2011a)

Olievenhoutbosch has a population of 70 863 individuals, with 38 351 males and 32 512 females. There are about 23 777 households in Olievenhoutbosch, dominated by Blacks, who constitute 98% of the population. Although all official South African languages are present among the Olievenhoutbosch population, Sepedi is slightly more dominant than the other languages, and is spoken by 32% of the population. The table above presents the demographic profile of the population of Olievenhoutbosch (Frith 2011a).

In terms of socioeconomic conditions, Olievenhoutbosch is characterised by high levels of unemployment, poverty, crime and HIV/AIDS, as well as a lack of education (Kabanyane 2006; Experience Mission nd.). Approximately 42% of the population of Olievenhoutbosch is unemployed, mainly due to a lack of education. Many children of school age in Olievenhoutbosch do not attend school, and only 20% of the population has passed matric (Mosweu 2014:32). This situation has led to juvenile delinquency, as many youths have developed survival strategies from an early age, which include crime, drugs and prostitution (Mashego 2015:12; Kabanyane 2006: 44). This has also led to an increase in

the HIV prevalence rate in Olievenhoutbosch, which is considered to be one of the informal settlements in Pretoria most affected by the HIV and AIDS pandemic (Mashego 2015: 12). Prostitution, poverty and lack of education are the main causes of the high HIV prevalence rate in Olievenhoutbosch (Kabanyane 2006: 50).

Figure 5.1: Olievenhoutbosch informal settlement



Source: Experience mission 2013.

5.7.2 Jeffsville

Jeffsville is one of the six informal settlements located on the southern edge of Atteridgeville Township, which is situated in the Gauteng Province, South Africa, about 10 kilometres west of Pretoria Central (van Averbek 2007:338). It is the oldest informal settlement in Atteridgeville, and was founded in 1991 by the housing activist, Jeff Ramohale, after whom the informal settlement was named. This informal settlement was established due to the shortage of housing and the long waiting list for municipal housing experienced by Atteridgeville residents (Monson 2015:135-136).

Like any informal settlement, Jeffsville is characterised by informal housing, such as shacks, as well as roads that are not level and are full of potholes, with no street names. In addition, there is a lack of in-house water and proper sanitation, and the electricity supply is via the card system (Mulenga *et al* 2004;

van Averbek 2007). Most of the shacks are made of wood and corrugated iron, sometimes with plastic sheets and cardboard. The majority of households use pit latrines for sanitation, which are not hygienically sound and cause illnesses such as cholera among the inhabitants (van Averbek 2007:338). Although the residents of Jeffsville do not have in-house water, they benefit, free of charge, from the availability of water from stand-pipes provided by the municipality. These stand-pipes are located in different areas of Jeffsville, favouring the increased number of residential sites around them (van Averbek 2007:338).

In terms of the demographic profile, there is not much specific information regarding the number of people and population groups living in Jeffsville. According to Mulenga *et al* (2004:8), who conducted sanitation studies in Jeffsville between 1999 and 2000, its population is estimated at 20 000 individuals. Currently, however, this number could be more due to the ongoing illegal occupation of land by various households who experience poverty and housing problems. However, the Census 2011 conducted by Statistics South Africa indicated that Atteridgeville, which also includes Jeffsville, has a population of 64 425 individuals, with 16 456 households, covering an area of 6550.00 km². The dominant population group is black, estimated at 63 839 individuals and representing 99% of Atteridgeville's population. Like Olievenhoutbosch, Sepedi is the most common spoken language in Atteridgeville, which is spoken by about 26 236 people, representing 41% of the Atteridgeville population (Frith 2011b).

Table 5.2. Demographic profile of Atteridgeville, including the Jeffsville informal settlement

Gender	Number of People	Percentage
Female	33350	51.77%
Male	31075	48.23%
Population group	Number of People	Percentage
Black African	63839	99.09%
Coloured	205	0.32%
Other	203	0.32%
White	106	0.16%

Indian or Asian	72	0.11%
First language	Number of People	Percentage
Sepedi	26236	41.38%
Setswana	10566	16.67%
Sesotho	7823	12.34%
isiZulu	4550	7.18%
Xitsonga	4412	6.96%
Tshivenda	2299	3.63%
isiNdebele	2149	3.39%
English	1632	2.57%
isiXhosa	1204	1.90%
SiSwati	896	1.41%
Other	803	1.27%
Afrikaans	438	0.69%
Sign language	390	0.62%

Source: Frith (2011b)

In terms of its socioeconomic profile, Jeffsville is characterised by high levels of unemployment; illiteracy; poverty; crime; drug and alcohol abuse; corruption, mostly among police officers and local leaders; and HIV and AIDS. The main livelihood activities of people in Jeffsville are part-time or piece jobs in the construction industry and other businesses around Pretoria. Others are involved in petty trade businesses, such as spaza shops and street vending (Misago, Monson, Polzer & Landau 2010: 129). Crime is one of the main concerns in Jeffsville, especially with youths, who often rob people and rape women, or sometimes even kill them. They often attack people early in the morning and at night, including weekends, in isolate places, such as an open cemetery (Misago *et al* 2010: 129).

Figure 5.2: Jeffsville informal settlement



Source: The new age 2017

5.8 DATA COLLECTION

To gather data for this study, the researcher made use of primary and secondary data sources. The secondary sources used by the researcher included published and unpublished books, articles and reports related to social assistance, capacity development, HIV and AIDS, households, and informal settlements, both local and international. This secondary data was mostly obtained from the University of South Africa (UNISA) library, where the researcher spent most of his time during the course of this study. Secondary data was mostly used in the literature review sections of this study, which include chapters two, three and four. It was also used in the findings chapter, in order to support the findings of this study.

The primary data sources used in this study were the in-depth interviews conducted with research participants, and the observations made by the researcher at the research sites. Primary data sources were mostly used in the findings chapter of this study, including the final chapter.

5.8.1 In-depth interviews

As indicated above, primary data was collected by means of in-depth interviews that consisted of semi-structured questions. The researcher developed interview schedules, which comprised of the main and probing questions. The study had three types of interview schedules for three different categories of research participants, namely households affected by HIV and AIDS who are beneficiaries of social grants; caregivers and social workers from NPOs; and DSD and SASSA officials who are involved in the development and implementation of social grants and human capacity development programmes in South Africa. All interview schedules were based on the aims and objectives of the study (See Appendix C). Before using the interview schedules, the researcher discussed them with his supervisor for validation and approval.

5.8.1.1 *Pre-testing of interview schedules (Pilot study)*

Prior to conducting interviews with the “real research participants”, the researcher pre-tested the interview schedules with three respondents, who were chosen purposively and did not participate in the study. This was done in order to check the wording, ensure that the research participants would understand the questions in the way that the researcher intended, and to ensure that there was a flow of ideas from one topic to another during the interview. In addition, the pilot study aimed to ensure that the interview guide covered themes pertinent to the research (Magnusson & Marecek 2015:70).

During the pre-testing interviews, the three respondents struggled to understand one of the main questions, namely “*What is your understanding of human capacity development?*” They found the term too technical, especially for research participants who did not go far with their studies. One of the participants, who is a social work lecturer at one of the reputable universities, argued that this question might also be difficult for some caregivers and social workers to answer. However, the researcher, after discussing the matter with his supervisor, decided that,

due to the importance of the concept in this study, it would be better to explain it to the respondents, or probe it with education or skills development, rather than removing the question. Another problem that emerged during the pre-testing interviews was the flow of topics. Some respondents argued that there was no flow of topics, especially between the social grants and human capacity development questions, which constituted the core of the interview schedules. They suggested first focusing on the one topic, before moving on to the next one. This suggestion was taken into consideration by the researcher and his supervisor, and the necessary changes were made.

5.8.1.2 *Conducting interviews*

Interviews refer to interactions between the research participant and researcher that produce data in the form of words (Grove *et al* 2013:271). In this study, as mentioned above, interviews were conducted with DSD and SASSA officials, NPO caregivers and social workers, and heads of households affected by HIV and AIDS. Prior to the commencement of the interviews, the researcher introduced himself, or was introduced by NPO representatives, to the research participants. Thereafter, the researcher explained the aim and ethical considerations of the study, which research participants needed to be aware of before participating in the study. The researcher also requested permission to make use of tape recorders, in order to facilitate the transcription of the interviews. All this information was included in the consent form (see Appendix A) that the researcher gave to the potential participants, who signed this form if they were willing to participate in the study.

All of the interviews were conducted in English, but the research participants, especially the social grant beneficiaries, were free to answer questions in the language of their choice, which was then translated into English by the caregivers who accompanied the researcher. The interviews were sometimes interrupted when research participants had to attend to telephone calls or family issues, or when they became

distressed or emotional. In this case, the researcher turned off the tape-recording machine and stopped the interview. He then tried to comfort the research participant with words of encouragement, and then asked if the participant was still comfortable about continuing with the interview. Fortunately, all of the participants wanted to continue with the interviews. However, the researcher gave them some time to compose themselves before resuming with the interview. Most of the interviews typically lasted between 30 and 45 minutes.

5.8.1.3 Interviews with heads of households affected by HIV and AIDS

As indicated in the previous sections, Olievenhoutbosch and Jeffsville, two informal settlements of Pretoria, were selected as the research settings of this study. In total, 23 interviews were conducted, 12 in Olievenhoutbosch and 11 in Jeffsville, with this category of people. The profiles of this group of people are presented in the table below.

Table 5.3 Biographical details of the heads of households interviewed for the study

Olievenhoutbosch informal settlement

Pseudo-nym	Gender	Age	Educa-tional level	Employment status	No of house-hold members	No of mem-bers recei-ving SG	Types of SG recei-ved	SG per month in R	Year in which they started recei-ving SG
Refilwe	Female	37	Gr 7	Unemployed	4	4	CSG(4)	R1520	2005
Bongi	Female	38	Gr 1	Unemployed	7	6	CSG(6)	R2280	2006
Lendiwe	Female	33	Gr 7	Unemployed	11	7	CSG(6) DG(1)	R 3880	2005
Pindi	Female	40	Gr 9	Unemployed	4	1	CSG(1)	R380	2004
Linda	Female	34	Gr 11	Unemployed	14	8	CSG(8)	R3040	2007
Francisc a	Female	32	Gr 9	Unemployed	8	3	CSG(3)	R1140	2007
Lola	Female	42	Gr 11	Unemployed	9	6	CSG(6)	R2280	1999
Given	Female	62	Gr 7	Unemployed	7	4	CSG(3) CDG(1)	R2740	1999
Beauty	Female	27	Gr 12	Unemployed	6	4	CSG(4)	R1520	2012
Marc	Male	18	Gr 12	Unemployed	7	3	CSG (3)	R1140	1999
Mendi	Female	22	Gr 12	Unemployed	5	2	CSG (2)	R760	2003
Pemba	Female	23	Gr 11	Unemployed	14	8	CSG (8)	R3040	2007

Jeffsville informal settlement

Pseudo-nym	Gender	Age	Educational level	Employment status	No of house-hold members	No of members receiving SG	Types of SG received	SG per month in R	Year in which they started receiving SG
Faith	Female	39	Gr 6	Unemployed	5	2	CSG(3)	R1140	1999
Sylvia	Female	31	Gr 6	Unemployed	3	1	CSG(1)	R380	2004
Eunice	Female	42	Gr 4	Unemployed	4	3	CSG(3)	R1140	1994
Happiness	Female	31	Gr 11	Employed	9	3	CSG(3)	R1140	2005
Leleti	Female	64	Gr 5	Unemployed	9	6	CSG(5) OAG(1)	R3410	2010
Sonto	Female	20	Gr 11	Unemployed	4	3	CSG(3)	R1140	1997
Maki	Female	32	Gr 11	Unemployed	7	6	CSG(6)	R3806	2005
Mapula	Female	39	Gr 11	Unemployed	4	2	CSG(2)	R760	1997
Wendi	Female	19	Gr 9	Unemployed	5	2	CSG(2)	R760	2016
Khumalo	Male	37	Gr 10	Unemployed	3	1	CSG(1)	R 380	2004
Tina*	Female	21	Gr 12	Unemployed	8	1	CSG(1)	R 380	2015

*Research participant living outside research sites, namely, Lusaka informal settlement in Mamelodi, Pretoria, RSA.

From the above tables, it can be concluded that the majority of this category of research participants have the following characteristics:

- Many heads of households are female;
- They have a low level of education, as only few of them have passed matric;
- They are all unemployed and depend on social grants for their survival; and
- They have been receiving social grants for many years.

All of the interviews took place at the homes of the research participants. The majority of the research participants lived in small houses (RDP) or shacks, especially those from Jeffsville, who are still waiting for the approval of their RDP houses. In order to reach the research participants' homes, the researcher had to walk or drive, with the guidance of the caregivers, who knew their addresses. The same caregivers also served as translators for those research participants who were not fluent in English.

After the participants gave their consent to be interviewed, the researcher, together with the research team, including the research participants, had to decide on the appropriate place for conducting the interviews. Using the interview schedule, tape-recorders and field notes, the researcher started by asking biographical questions, in order to develop a profile of the research participants. The biographical questions included the name of the research participant, although a pseudonym was used; age; educational level; employment status; number of household members; number of household members receiving social grants; types of social grants received; total number of social grants received per month; and the year when they started receiving social grants.

The second part of the interview consisted of phenomenon questions, which included the following:

- Understanding of the concept of a social grant and its benefits for the wellbeing of the household;
- Understanding of human capacity development or education and its impact on poverty alleviation;
- Reasons for applying for social grants;
- Challenges faced with social grants.

The last part of the interview asked for suggestions from research participants on how to improve the social grants programme and the living conditions of the beneficiaries, especially in terms of their human capacity development needs. These questions included the following:

- What can be done by the government to improve social grants and the human capacity development of the beneficiaries;
- Suggestions regarding social grants and the human capacity development of the beneficiaries.

5.8.1.4 Interviews with caregivers and social workers

As indicated in the previous sections, the caregivers and social workers who were interviewed came from NPOs that provide services to households affected by HIV and AIDS, who are beneficiaries of social grants, in the Olievenhoutbosch and Jeffsville informal settlements. In total, nine interviews were conducted - three for each NPO.

Table 5.4: List of caregivers and social workers interviewed for the study

Pseudonym	Gender	Organisation	Position	Year of joining the organisation
Grace	Female	MafuloGa Sisulu	Social worker	2011
Pinki	Female	MafuloGa Sisulu	Caregiver	2015
Mapula	Female	MafuloGa Sisulu	Caregiver	2017
Dlamini	Female	Zanempilo HBC	Caregiver	2014
Gift	Female	Zanempilo HBC	Social worker	2011
Julius	Male	Zanempilo HBC	Social worker	2014
Matata	Male	Children on the Move	Program Manager	2009
Pasi*	Male	Stanza Bopape Community Development Centre	Program Officer	2011
Matondo	Male	Olievenhoutbosch Development Association	Program Officer	2014

*Research participant operating outside setting sites, namely Mamelodi, Pretoria, RSA.

The researcher used the same procedure that was applied to heads of households when interviewing this category of participants, starting with biographical and demographic questions, followed by phenomenon questions, and finishing with exit or recommendation questions. Biographical and demographic questions included the name of the participant, gender, organisation in which he or she works, position occupied in the organisation, and the year when he or she started working for the organisation.

The phenomenon questions, supported by probing questions, for this category of participants included the following:

- Understanding of developmental social assistance or social grants;

- Understanding of human capacity development or skills development (education);
- Impact of social grants on human capacity development of the beneficiaries;
- How caregivers or social workers assist social grant beneficiaries to develop their human capacities;
- Challenges faced in assisting social grant beneficiaries with regard to their human capacity development.

Exit questions, supported by probing questions, asked for suggestions or recommendations from research participants regarding the improvement of social grant programmes to assist beneficiaries to meet their basic needs, especially their human capacity development.

5.8.1.5 *Interviews with DSD and SASSA officials*

Interviews were conducted with people working in the DSD and SASSA, who were involved in the development and implementation of social grants and human capacity development, in their workplaces. In total, four interviews were conducted.

Table 5.5: List of DSD and SASSA officials interviewed for the study

Pseudonym	Gender	Organisation	Position
Mandisa	Female	DSD	Programme Coordinator
Elisa	Female	SASSA	Policy Implementer
Matee	Female	DSD	Programme Director
Nsimba	Female	DSD	Programme Officer

The researcher once again used the same procedure applied to the previous research participants during this interview process. He started with biographical and demographic questions, followed by phenomenon questions, and finishing with exit or recommendation questions. The biographical and demographic questions included the name and gender of the participant, organisation for which he or she works, and the position occupied in the organisation.

The phenomenon questions, supported by probing questions, for this category of participants included the following:

- Understanding of developmental social assistance or social grants in South Africa;
- Impact of social grants on the human capacity of beneficiaries;
- Types of social assistance, including human capacity development, provided to people between 19 and 59 years old;
- How social assistance helps to capacitate households affected by HIV and AIDS;
- Challenges faced by the DSD and SASSA regarding human capacity development of households affected by HIV and AIDS who are recipients of social grants.

The exit questions, supported by probing questions, focused on suggestions or recommendations on how to break the grant dependency culture of the beneficiaries.

- Strategies to break the grant dependency culture of the beneficiaries;
- Something to add in terms of social grants and the capacity development of the beneficiaries.

5.9 RESEARCH OBSERVATIONS

Observations were made during research site visits and research participants' in-depth interviews. The researcher's role was mostly one of observing and taking notes on the research participant's home or workplace, as well as their attitudes, reactions and non-verbal cues, during the interviews.

When driving or walking to the research participants' homes (informal settlements), the researcher used to observe and take notes about things like the conditions of roads, types of houses built, water and sanitation conditions, schools, and hospitals/clinics. During the interviews, the researcher paid more

attention to households' living conditions, attitudes and emotional reactions when answering the questions.

With regard to the other categories of research participants, namely NPO caregivers and social workers, and the DSD and SASSA officials, the researcher conducted interviews at their places of work. He paid more attention to their working conditions, which have an impact on the services they provide to the beneficiaries, as well as their attitudes and emotional reactions when answering questions.

5.10 TRANSCRIPTION OF INTERVIEW DATA AND DATA ANALYSIS

The transcription of interview data, field notes, data analysis and interpretation were important aspects of this study. All of them were guided by the research objectives of this study.

The researcher did the transcription of the interviews himself. Although the process was time-consuming, as each interview took approximately two hours to transcribe, it helped the researcher to immerse himself in the data, by listening to and remembering the voices and attitudes of the research participants when answering questions (Grove *et al* 2013:279).

Although taped interviews were transcribed verbatim, the researcher did not pay attention to the intricacies of the spoken language and illogical sequence of arguments of some research participants or interpreters, but concentrated mostly on the informational content. The transcription also did not take into consideration unintentional vocalisations (such as laughing, crying, sneezing or coughing), non-verbal gestures (such as facial expression, shaking of hands or hugging), duration of pauses, or the malfunctioning of the tape recorder.

In the analysis of data, which refers to a process of examining and interpreting the gathered data, with the aim of eliciting meaning, gaining understanding, and developing empirical knowledge (Grove *et al* 2013:279), the researcher used

the eight steps proposed by Tesch (Sensing 2011:204-205; Deen 2015:110-111), as described below.

Once the transcription of the taped interviews was completed, the researcher read carefully through the documented data, including field notes, in order to get a picture of the whole. The reading allowed him to identify recurring ideas and themes related to the research questions and objectives. After getting general ideas and themes through the reading of all documented data, the researcher started with the most interesting interview, and read it through to discover its underlying meanings. In this regard, the researcher started with the interview of **Lola**, as it was the longest and most information-rich interview. He carefully read it in order to identify the underlying meanings, and wrote down thoughts in the margin. After completing this, he did the same for the remaining interviews and other documented data.

After reading through the documented data and discovering the underlying meanings, the researcher made a list of emerging topics, and grouped together topics that seemed to be similar. He then classified topics in columns as major topics, unique topics, and peripheral topics. The researcher read the transcripts on the emerging topics again, and in the process, he decided which ones could be used in chapter six, as they provided answers to the research objectives. Although this step is the most complicated one, it is very important, as it provides clarification regarding how the research themes were derived.

For the next stage, the researcher took the list and returned to the transcripts. He then abbreviated each identified topic in the form of codes and wrote the codes next to the appropriate segments of the text. He highlighted each code in a different colour, in order to distinguish them from one another. The researcher turned identified topics to themes and categories, and assigned appropriate descriptive wording to each of the themes and categories. He also reduced the total list of themes and categories, by grouping together topics that were related to each other.

After transforming topics into themes and categories, the researcher provided final abbreviations for the themes, and arranged them in an alphabetical order, in order to facilitate the process of re-coding where necessary. The researcher then cut and pasted data material that belonged to each theme and category, assembled them in an appropriate place, and started with his preliminary analysis. In this final stage, the researcher repeated the coding process by revisiting some coded data for simplification and clarification, and to ensure that data material had been correctly allocated.

5.11 MEASURES OF TRUSTWORTHINESS

To measure the trustworthiness of data collected for this study, the researcher made use of the qualitative research measurement criteria, namely credibility, transferability, conformity and dependability, as suggested by Lincoln and Guba (in Tappen 2011: 153).

5.11.1 Credibility

Credibility, which refers to the compatibility between the constructed realities that exist in the mind of the research participants and those that are attributed to them (Babbie & Mouton 2001:277), was used in this study through prolonged engagement and triangulation.

In order to gain an in-depth understanding of the culture, language and views of the research participants, especially social grant beneficiaries, the researcher, who lives in close proximity to the Olievenhoutbosch and Jeffsville informal settlements, visited these two areas prior to conducting the interviews. He paid more attention to the living conditions of the habitants, and public infrastructures such as roads, schools, and development centres. He also visited SASSA local offices for these two areas, in order to observe how social grant beneficiaries and applicants were being served. In addition, he built and developed a trusting relationship with NPOs, DSD and SASSA staff and officials who provided

services to social grant beneficiaries in these two informal settlements, in order to facilitate the collection of data.

The researcher used the triangulation technique in this study, by combining data collected through in-depth interviews conducted with research participants, and observation notes made during research field visits, in order to verify whether they produced the same results. The triangulation technique also assisted the researcher to determine whether a correlation exists between the collected data and the objectives of the study.

5.11.2 Transferability

Transferability, which refers to the applicability of the research findings to other situations and people (Tappen 2011:160), was used in this study by purposively selecting research participants, who were mostly members of households affected by HIV and AIDS that were beneficiaries of social grant and lived in informal settlements. The researcher was confident that they would provide rich information pertaining to the study. Because all of the research participants met the research criteria, the researcher believed that the findings of this study could be applied to other individuals and situations.

5.11.3 Dependability

To measure the consistency of the findings of this study, the researcher made use of an enquiry audit, which was conducted by the researcher's supervisor, who was used as an external auditor. In this regard, the recorded interviews, field notes, and other documents and items collected were scrutinised by the auditor. This helped the researcher to provide transparency of the research study, and allowed the reader to judge the trustworthiness of the findings (Tappen 2011:160-161).

5.11.4 Confirmability

To confirm that the findings of this study are the product of the inquiry, and not biases of the researcher (Babbie & Mouton 2001: 278), the researcher included some direct quotes from research participants' interviews in the final documents.

5.12 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

HIV/AIDS and poverty are emotional and sensitive issues, which can affect the morale of people who are experiencing them. Therefore, when conducting research with people who are faced with these issues, the researcher needs to consider certain ethical principles, in order to prevent harm to research participants, as well as the violation of their human rights. In this study, the ethical considerations included permission to conduct the research, voluntary participation and informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality, and deception.

5.12.1 Permission to conduct research

Before commencing data collection in the research field, the researcher sought and was granted ethical clearance to conduct the research, as well as a letter of introduction for his PhD fieldwork research project, by the ethics committee of the Department of Development Studies at the University of South Africa (see Appendix D). Permission to conduct research in the DSD and SASSA was granted by the DSD in the Gauteng Province, and the SASSA Office of the CEO (see Appendix D). These letters allowed the researcher to request permission to conduct interviews with relevant people and sections, including NPOs working under these two institutions, who could assist in providing information-rich data for this study.

5.12.2 Voluntary participation and consent form

Before conducting in-depth interviews with the research participants, the researcher introduced himself and explained the purpose of the study. He also informed them about the voluntary nature of their participation in the study, and that they had the right to refuse to be interviewed or to withdraw from the study at any time, without prejudice or explanation. He also assured them about their right not to answer any question if they did not want to. However, it was important for the research participants to answer all of the questions, in order to assist in achieving the objectives of the study. Thereafter, they were asked to read or get someone read to them the informed consent form, which contained information regarding their participation in the research. If they agreed to participate in the research, they had to sign the consent form.

5.12.3 Anonymity and confidentiality

Anonymity and confidentiality play an important ethical role during the informed consent stage, as they might be the deciding factors for research participants as to whether or not to participate. Breaching the anonymity and confidentiality of the research participants may result in sensitive information being linked to their identity. This, in turn, may result in their stigmatisation and discrimination by members of the public. To avoid this kind of situation, the researcher protected the identity of research participants by hiding their real names, and by assigning each of them a pseudonym, which was used throughout the study. Although the true identities and home addresses of the interviewees were known by the researcher, this information is kept confidential and the participants' identities are anonymised in the presentation of the data. The researcher will destroy all information that can be regarded as personal related to this fieldwork by shredding the documentation five years after the completion of the degree. In the meantime, this information is secured in a safe to which only the researcher has access.

With regard to confidentiality, since HIV and AIDS and poverty are sensitive issues, interviews with research participants were conducted in places where

privacy was guaranteed. In addition, the researcher assured research participants that the information they shared would be treated with strict confidentiality and kept in a safe place, where only the researcher and supervisor had access to it. Furthermore, this information would not be divulged to anyone, unless the identity of the research participants was protected.

5.12.4 Deception

To avoid the deception of the research participants, especially the social grant beneficiaries, the researcher assured them that the study is part of the university research programme, and did not provide any guarantee regarding the improvement of the phenomenon under study. According to Babbie (2017:70), to avoid deceiving research participants, it is important to inform them that the study forms part of the research programme.

5.13 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the researcher discussed the methodological considerations and steps that were followed in conducting the study. The research design of this study, which includes the qualitative research approach, explorative and case study techniques, were also discussed. In this regard, the researcher placed emphasis on the definitions and characteristics of these approaches, linking them to the aims and objectives of this study.

In addition, the different population groups and sampling techniques used in this study were discussed in this chapter. The population groups used in this study included households affected by HIV and AIDS, who were living in informal settlements and beneficiaries of social grants; NPO caregivers and social workers who provide services to these beneficiaries, and institutions that develop and implement social grants and human capacity development programmes, namely the DSD and SASSA, also participated in this study. The researcher used the purposive sampling technique to select research participants for this study. From this sample, 30 people from three different

categories were identified as the final samples of this study. The researcher also explained in this chapter how he gained access to the research participants.

The data collection techniques used in this study, which included in-depth interviews and observation, were also discussed. The emphasis was on the process of conducting interviews with the research participants, types of interview schedules, and the profiles of the research participants.

Interview transcription and qualitative data analysis using Tech eight steps, as applied in this study, was discussed in this chapter, as well as the measures for ensuring trustworthiness and ethical considerations.

CHAPTER 6: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS (PART ONE)

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is the first of two chapters in which the findings are presented. It contains data that emerged from the interviews conducted and observations and field notes made at the research site, which are juxtaposed against the literature review.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the impact of social assistance or social grants on the human capacity development of the beneficiaries, with a focus on households affected by HIV and AIDS living in informal settlements. Therefore, the discussion in this chapter includes the understanding and application of, and dependency on, social grants by South Africa households affected by HIV and AIDS. The chapter also discusses social grant beneficiaries' perceptions regarding the importance of education or human capacity development in their lives in terms of poverty alleviation and sustainable livelihoods. In addition, the chapter discusses the role played by South African non-profit organisations and public institutions in the lives of social grant beneficiaries, including households affected by HIV and AIDS, with regard to human capacity development, job placement, poverty alleviation, and the exit of these beneficiaries from social grant programmes.

Prior to the discussion of the findings, the list of themes, sub-themes and categories of the findings is presented, followed by a detailed biographical profile of the research participants, as heads of households affected by HIV and AIDS, with whom the researcher conducted interviews.

6.2 THEMES, SUB-THEMES AND CATEGORIES

In this study, themes, sub-themes and categories emerged from the analysis of field notes and transcribed data collected from the interviews with research

participants. They were all shaped by the stated purpose and objectives of this study, and were tested by the researcher's supervisor. Below is the structured list of themes, sub-themes and categories in this study. Themes here refer to organising topics, subthemes to patterns of accounts that fall under the theme and categories are descriptive levels of text that flesh out the subtheme.

Table 6.1 List of themes, sub-themes and categories emerging from the analysis of the data collected from participants

THEME	SUB-THEME	CATEGORY
Theme 1: Biographical details of research participants	1.1 Age of research participants 1.2 Gender of research participants 1.3 Educational status 1.4 Employment status 1.5 Number of household members 1.6 Number of household members who receive social grants 1.7 Types of social grants received 1.8 Number of years in the social grants programme	
Theme 2: Understanding, application and use of, and dependency on social grants	2.1 Understanding of the concept of social assistance or social grant	* Help to meet basic needs and invest in small businesses * Financial assistance provided to people to help meet their basic needs * Social interventions to help vulnerable people to develop or sustain themselves
	2.2 Reasons for applying for social grants	* Lack of employment * Inadequate income
	2.3 Application and payment process for social grants	* No problems when applying for social grants * Receive social grants regularly * Well treated by SASSA officials * Sometimes not well treated by SASSA officials
	2.4 Use of social grants by households	* Buying food * Paying for transport to hospital, school, piece jobs, or to look for job * Supplement children's crèche fees and household members' clothes and shoes * Paying for electricity or rent

		* Reinforcing of income-generating activities
	2.5 Dependency on social grants	* Not proud to depend on social grants * Happy to depend on social grants * Difficult to live without social grants
Theme 3: Understanding the importance of human capacity development	3.1 Understanding of the human capacity development concept	* Never heard of it * Provision of skills to people for their development
	3.2 Importance of education	* Assist to gain knowledge * Assist to get a better job and have a brighter future * Assist people in the community * Important for young children, but not for adults
	3.3 Household members' perceptions of the consequences of not having a post-secondary school education	* Regret not going far in school * Difficult to get a job without matric
Theme 4: Non-profit organisations: Capacity development activities for social grant beneficiaries	4.1 Human capacity development assistance to social grant beneficiaries	* Assistance from HIV and AIDS- related NPOs with social grant application process * Assistance from HIV and AIDS-related NPOs with community development projects * Assistance from HIV and AIDS-related NPOs with food parcels and school uniforms * Assistance from HIV and AIDS-related NPOs in terms of how to manage social * Skills development NPOs provide training mostly to youth and women * Skills development NPOs assist trainees and other unemployed people with job placements and business opportunities.
	4.2 Types of job placements and business opportunities for which assistance is provided	* Entry-level or N3 jobs * Cooperatives and small businesses * Securing of land for agriculture
Theme 5: Challenges faced by grant beneficiaries in meeting basic needs and human capacity development	5.1 Challenges faced by social grant beneficiaries in meeting basic needs	* Social grants are insufficient to cover basic needs, especially households with only one social grant * Cutting or disqualifying of social grants has a negative impact on household income

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Misuse of children's social grants by parents or guardians * Conflict between household members over children's social grants
	5.2 Challenges faced by social grant beneficiaries in developing capacity or improving income generation and employment opportunities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Not enough money to save or pay for education * Not enough skills development and vocational centres in the community * Limited training provided by skills development and vocational centres * Skills development training only for youth and women, not youth without matric and adult men * Some youth and adults not interested in education or skills development * Some social grant beneficiaries not aware of government financial assistance for studying. * No guarantee of job placement or business opportunities after completing training * Entry level salary less than social grant programme exit requirements
Theme 6: Suggestions to government	6.1 Suggestions with regard to the social grants programme	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Increase social grants * Provide social grants to all poor people * Cut social grants, only provide food parcels and food vouchers to poor people * Supplement social grants with RDP houses
	6.2 Suggestions with regard to human capacity development and job/business opportunities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Provide bursary / scholarship (free education) to youth * Provide bursary / scholarship with pocket money to illiterate adults (men and women) * Build more skills development and vocational centres in the communities * Assist NPOs with more funds for various types of training, and in order to expand their training activities * Promote the importance of education in communities

		* Create more jobs and business opportunities for people (youth and adults)
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6.3 BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Although the background information of all research participants was provided in Chapter Five, this section presents detailed biographical information about the research participants, who are social grant beneficiaries. In this regard, the following will be discussed: participants' age, gender, educational level, employment status, number of people in the household, number of people receiving social grants in the household, types of social grants received, and number of years in the social grants programme.

6.3.1 Age of research participants

The participants ranged in age from 18 to 64 years old. Two interviewees were 60 years and older; three persons were in the age group 40 - 49 years; eleven persons were in the age group 30 - 39 years; and six persons were aged 18 - 29 years. Thus, the majority of interviewees were young adults. This age range was partly influenced by the selection criteria, which favoured adults of consenting age. Nevertheless, young adults have the capacity to learn new skills for their own human capacity development. Janacsek, Fiser and Nemeth (2012:1) indicate that although all ages have the capacity to acquire new knowledge and skills, those in their late twenties to early thirties are best suited to learn new tasks.

6.3.2 Gender of research participants

The majority of household heads affected by HIV and AIDS who were also social grant beneficiaries were female, representing 91 per cent of the research participants. This shows that many women households in poor settings, such as informal settlements, are carrying the burden of their households' socioeconomic expenditures. This is supported by Van Driel (2012:144), who indicates that since 1994, female-headed households in South Africa have

become an important part of society, as political and legal changes in the country have created space for their empowerment. However, despite this empowerment, the majority of women-headed households are still living in conditions of generalised poverty and hardship (Statistics South Africa 2011). This necessitates state interventions through various social programmes, in order to prevent this segment of the working class from descending into extreme poverty.

6.3.3 Educational status

The average educational level of research participants was Grade 8, with only 4 out of 23 people in the age group of 18 to 30 years having obtained matric or Grade 12. The majority of these research participants had an educational level of between Grades 7 and 9. There was only one person who had dropped out of school in Grade 1. This means that the majority of the research participants did not have matric, which would have enabled them to further their studies at post-secondary school level.

The researcher asked interviewees why they had not completed Grade 12, and different reasons were offered. A major theme was that the death of breadwinners in their families, or the divorce or separation of their parents had led to financial constraints, which resulted in them being unable to afford school fees, especially during the days when free education was impossible. Here are the views of some of the research participants:

Bongi, a 38-year-old woman, who dropped out of school in Grade 1, indicated that she had lost her mother when she was three months old. Her stepmother, who did not treat her well, did not allow her to go to school. She explained that:

I grew up without my parents, who passed away long ago. In addition, there was no one to take me to school. People told me that my mother passed away when I was three months old. After the death of my mother, my father married another woman, who did not treat me well, which is why I did not go to school.

Francisca, a 32-year-old woman with Grade 9, and **Khumalo**, a 37-year-old man with Grade 10, who also did not have someone to pay for their studies, due to the passing of their parents, stated the following:

My mother passed away, and there was no one to take me to school. When my mother was alive, she was paying my school fees and transport, but when she died, no one could pay for me. [Francisca]

The person who was taking care of me passed away. [Khumalo]

The death of breadwinners in households, including those affected by HIV and AIDS, has a negative impact on the education of children. Studies conducted by the United Nations (2004:45-46) on the impact of AIDS in Zimbabwe and Zambia indicated that many children in these countries were unable to go to school after the death of the breadwinner, due to the lack of money.

Another reason given by research participants was taking care of household members who were very ill or bedridden, or their own illness, which forced them to drop out of school. Among the research participants who experienced this situation were **Sonto**, a 20-year-old woman with Grade 11; **Lendiwe**, a 33-year-old woman with Grade 7; and **Happiness**, a 31-year-old with Grade 11, who explained as follows:

The reason I dropped out of school is that I was the one who had to take care of my young siblings, because my mother was sick. [Sonto]

My mother was sick; I had to stop school to help her. She died in 2004. After her death, I stayed alone and nobody paid my school fees. [Lendiwe]

I was sick, and I went to initiation school. [Happiness]

Tshoose (2010) argues that in many households where the breadwinners have poor health, children are forced to drop out of school in order to take care of the sick person, and/or engage in casual work to provide households with basic

needs, such as food, health and shelter. Such care burdens often fall disproportionately on the shoulders of female children.

Falling pregnant was another reason why some of the participants dropped out of school, as they had to take care of their babies or children. After giving birth, some were ashamed to go back to school as mother learners, with the risk of being bullied or stigmatised by their peers.

Lola, a 42-year-old woman with Grade 11; **Mapula**, a 39-year-old woman with Grade 11; and **Pindi**, a 40-year-old woman with Grade 9, who dropped out of school due to pregnancy, related the following:

When my mother died, I was 6 years old; it is my older brother who raised me. When I got pregnant and gave birth to my first born in 1993, it was difficult to continue with my studies, because there were many things to do at home, as I had to take care of my child and my brother's children.
[Lola]

I got pregnant in 1997, and my parents decided that I should discontinue my studies, as I was preparing to become a mother. After giving birth, I decided to go back to school to do Grade 11, but it was difficult because the baby was giving me a tough time, and I could not concentrate in school. [Mapula]

When I was in Grade 9, I fell pregnant. After giving birth, I wanted to go back to school, but my parents refused, saying that I was now a mother. Although I did not accept their decision, I did not have a choice. During the time that we had to pay school fees, I did not have someone to support my studies, except my parents. They were not prepared to pay for my studies, so I had to accept their decision. [Pindi]

Teenage pregnancy has a negative impact on the school performance of learners, as they have to face many challenges in terms of health, concentration in class, and the attitude of peers and family (Chalasani, Kelly, Mensch & Soler-Hampejsek 2012; Njambatwa 2013). Chalasani et al. (2012:2), who conducted a

study on the relationship between pregnancy and education in Malawi, argue that pregnant learners often experience the problem of not attending school regularly, which results in them leaving school permanently. Njambatwa (2013:10), citing Kost *et al*, indicate that there is a strong relationship between teenage pregnancy and dropout rate, due to the stigma associated with early parenting, and the lack of support by parents and peers.

In South Africa, dropout rates due to teenage pregnancy is a big concern for the leadership and development of the country (Ramulumo 2013; Matlala 2016; van den Heever 2016). There is a 74% dropout rate among pregnant learners between the ages of 14 and 19 in South Africa (van den Heever 2016:84). Rosenberg *et al* (2015: 929) argue that one-third of young girls in South Africa give birth by the age of 20 years, and these births are often associated with social stigma and family-imposed punishments.

6.3.4 Employment status

As indicated in Table 5.1 of Chapter Five, the majority of social grant beneficiaries are unemployed and depend on social grants for their survival, which they sometimes complement with earnings from part-time (piece) jobs or donations, such as the food parcels and used clothes they receive from charitable organisations. To get the interviewees to open up about the reasons for their unemployment took some effort on the part of the researcher, as the interviewees clearly struggled with this. Some of them said that the reasons were rather complex and that they have been job-hunting for many years already. It would seem that a combination of poor schooling and having been unemployed for many years compounded already desperate situations. The majority of participants expressed the view that lack of education or not having Grade 12 might be the main reason. According to some of them, it is very difficult to get a job these days without Grade 12. Below are the views expressed by some of the participants:

Linda, a 34-year-old woman with Grade 11, indicated that for a person to get a better job in South Africa these days, companies check their curriculum vitae

(CVs) to determine if they have experience and at least Grade 12, which she does not have. She explained that:

I cannot get a better job, such as working in an office, because I do not have experience and matric. To get this kind of job, companies first check your CV to see if you have matric. Otherwise, they cannot consider you for a better job. [Linda]

Eunice, a 42-year-old woman with Grade 4; and **Maki**, a 32-year-old woman with Grade 11, who shared the same views as Linda, stated the following:

My son does not have matric. Without matric, it is difficult to get a job. [Eunice]

You must have matric or Grade 12 these days to get a job. [Maki]

With the high rate of unemployment in South Africa, many entry-level jobs, such as a salesperson, cashier, typist, data capturer, and security guard, require applicants to have at least Grade 12 (Career 24 2018)

Another reason provided by some participants concerns the deterioration of their own health, as some of them are living with HIV, which has made them susceptible to numerous opportunistic diseases. Moreover, concerns about their health, frequent illnesses and medication also made it difficult for some of them to concentrate at work, and forced others to resign.

Sylvia, a 31-year-old women with Grade 6, who has a spinal problem, indicated that her health condition does not allow her to work, as she gets tired easily when she works. She explained that:

I cannot work anymore because I am sick. I have a spinal cord problem. For the whole of last month, I was using a wheelchair. I am going to Kalafong hospital, but they said as it is an ongoing problem, it is difficult to heal. They just give me painkillers; when I sit down for one hour, I get tired; I just sit, stand up and lay down again.

Eunice indicated that she lost many jobs because of her bad health, which often makes her feel ill and unable to concentrate at work. She related the following:

I do not last at work, every time I start working, I get sick, even with piece jobs.

Beauty, a 27-year-old woman with Grade 12, indicated that the deteriorating health of her baby forced her to stop working, and she explained as follows:

I was working before at KFC, but I had to stop because my baby is sick, I have to take care of him.

Studies conducted on the impact on work performance among miners in South Africa indicated that HIV and AIDS have negative consequences for the labour-intensiveness of the industry, as most miners living with HIV spend more time off work than HIV-negative miners, due to their ill health (Sonnenberg *et al* 2011: 650).

6.3.5 Number of household members

The average household size of research participants in this study is seven people, with fourteen people in the largest household, and three people in the smallest one. This is quite high compared to the average household size in South Africa, which is estimated to be 3.30 people (Statistics South Africa 2017a:11). The major dwelling type for these households was informal shacks. Lack of living space also means that there is one room for sleeping, with an acute lack of privacy. The shacks are built on small plots, and most have no indoor toilets or running water. There are communal toilets and water taps. Most of these households are waiting for the government to provide them with RDP houses (free government houses) that they applied for many years ago. Jacobs *et al* (2010:2) indicate that many social grant beneficiaries have the tendency to live in informal settlements so that they can receive social assistance from the government in terms of housing, clinic attendance, or agricultural assistance.

6.3.6 Number of household members who receive social grants

The average number of household members who receive social grants is four, with eight being the largest number of social grant beneficiaries in a household, and one being the lowest number of beneficiaries of social grants in a household. Intra-household dependency and inter-generational dependency on social grants were thus issues observed in the group of interviewees. It is also evident that where one person in a household has been successful in securing a social grant, such knowledge is transferred to other members, who then use this grant to augment the household income.

6.3.7 Types of social grants received

Most social grants received by the research participants include the CSG, followed by the DG, old age grant, and the care dependency grant. It became evident that those households where many CSGs are received fare better in meeting their monthly basic needs, especially those who live in rural areas, where the cost of living is much cheaper than in urban areas (Statistics South Africa 2017:06). Research participants from the DSD and SASSA, who work with grant recipients, are the ones who mostly support this.

Elisa, an official from SASSA, explained that:

... Even if the grant is only R 380, remember that most of these beneficiaries do not have only one child. They may have a maximum of six children. The total amount of this grant may assist these poor families to buy at least some food, such as maize meal and rice.

However, this is not the case with households with only one CSG, which is R 380. Most households who depend on one CSG often struggle to meet their basic needs, unless they are assisted by donations and other types of social assistance, such as food parcels, free education and free health (Prinsloo & Pillay 2014; Devereux & Waidler 2017).

Pindi, who together with her husband depend on their child's CSG, indicated that the money is too little; it is not enough to meet other basic needs like clothes for the child. She explained:

...No, it is too little. I cannot buy my child clothes with that money.

According to Rosa and Guthrie (2002:3), many people working in the child welfare sector think that the CSG amount is inadequate to meet a child's basic needs. In addition, this amount is often shared among household members, which undermines the benefits to the child.

6.3.8 Number of years in the social grants programme

The average number of years that the research participants, as beneficiaries of social grants, have been in the social grants programme is 13 years, with seven households having been in the programme for more than 17 years, and with only two households having been in the programme for less than five years in 2017. This means that many research participants have been in the social grants programme for a number of years, and are unlikely to exit the programme soon, due to the difficult socioeconomic circumstances that in which they find themselves.

From the above biographical profiles of interviewees, it can be argued that low levels of education and poor health status of household members have a negative impact on their job or business opportunities. Since education and good health, according to participants, are the main factors in securing or retaining jobs, or succeeding in business ventures, people who do not fulfil these requirements have no choice other than depending on social grants for their survival.

Van Zon, Reijneveld, Mendes de Leon and Bultmann (2017:1004), who conducted a study on the impact of low education and poor health on unemployment at different stages of life, found a positive relationship in mid-work life of the employees. Firstly, according to them, it is difficult for people with a low educational level and poor health to enter or re-enter the labour market,

as they may have less job control, or the job may be too physical for them. Secondly, the individual-tailored work arrangement to find or retain employment for employees with poor health may be too costly for the organisation. Thirdly, psychological resources to overcome the challenges of securing or keeping employment in the case of poor health may be lacking.

6.4 UNDERSTANDING, APPLICATION AND USE OF AND DEPENDENCY ON SOCIAL GRANTS

6.4.1 Understanding of the concept of social assistance or social grants

As the majority of the research participants were familiar with social assistance or social grants (terms most used in South Africa), the researcher wanted to obtain knowledge from them regarding their understanding of the concept of social assistance or social grants. There were two different types of answers from research participants in terms of their understanding of the meaning of social grants.

On the one hand, the majority of social grant beneficiaries, due to their low level of education, view social grants more in terms of the benefits they receive from the government to meet their basic needs, such as food, transport, clothes and education. Some of them indicated that the social grants also help them to invest in small businesses to get more income. The views of some social grant beneficiaries, namely **Pemba, Francisca** and **Bongi**, regarding the benefits of social grants, are shared below:

Social grants help us in everything, and without social grants, we do not know how we would manage. The grants help us to buy food, toiletries, and everything; it is like a salary to us. [Pemba]

It means a lot to me because it helps me to buy food and clothes for my kids, and to pay the school fees with it, also the policies. [Francisca]

Social grants help me a lot, because I have six kids, and the father ran away with another woman. Social grants help me to buy food and clothes to look after my kids. With social grants, I have started to save some money. Each month, I save about R250 to R300. This money has helped me to build three rooms in my backyard for people to rent. At the end of the month, I get something to add to my social grants. So, social grants help me a lot to build and get extra money. [Bongi]

On the other hand, the NGO, DSD and SASSA officials viewed social grants in terms of alleviating the poverty of needy people. In this regard, two points of views emerged as follows:

Some see social assistance or social grants as financial assistance provided by the government to vulnerable people, in order to meet their basic needs for survival. The following views were expressed in this regard:

Grace, a social worker from an HIV and AIDS-related NPO, stated that:

Money that poor people in South Africa receive to alleviate poverty, especially to meet the needs of some children in South Africa, as stated in the Children's Act.

Julius, a social worker from a HIV and AIDS-related NPO, said the following:

Money that government gives to people to develop their status, maybe to help them with their basic needs.

Dlamini, a caregiver from a HIV and AIDS-related NPO, said:

Money that government pays to people, such as child support grants and old age grants, its purpose is to help people to meet their basic needs, in order to meet them half way.

Others view social assistance as social interventions to help vulnerable people to develop or sustain themselves.

Nsimba, an official from DSD, stated that:

It is the use of social grants to support development, for example helping children to go to school with a child support grant.

Matata, a programme manager from a skills development NPO, expressed the following gives his view:

Social assistance is meant to develop people socially, and to uplift them within their households. We say that social grants would fall maybe under social assistance. That is my understanding.

Elisa, an official from SASSA, said that:

With social assistance, we are looking at child development; making sure that children without care are looked after. It is also about community development, where you have a group of women who want to start a knitting club, they will assess them.

These views are in line with many scholars' opinions, including that of the researcher, who considers social assistance or social grants as means-test non-contributory benefits provided by the government to vulnerable people, including those affected by HIV and AIDS, to help them meet their basic needs (South Africa, DSD 2008; Pauw & Mncube 2007:3; Woolard 2003:1).

6.4.2 Reasons for applying for social grants

Although the study focuses on households affected by HIV and AIDS that are beneficiaries of social grants, the researcher, for ethical reasons, did not ask questions during the interviews about the HIV status of research participants or household members. The questions were more about what motivated them to apply for social grants. Two main reasons emerged, namely lack of employment and inadequate income.

The majority of participants mentioned that unemployment was caused by a lack of education or Grade 12 certificate, which, according to them, is one of the main requirements for securing a job in South Africa these days.

Lola, who did not complete Grade 12 and was abandoned by her husband, explained:

When my husband left me, and I was not working, other caregivers advised me to apply for a social grant, so that I can have something to buy food for the kids.

Happiness, who along with her mother was unemployed when applying for a grant, stated the following:

My mother and I were not working; we could not meet our basic needs, which is why I decided to apply for a social grant.

Some participants indicated that they were employed at the time when they applied for a social grant, but their incomes were too small to meet their household's basic needs. **Eunice** and **Francisca** used to have piece-jobs and part-time jobs, but the money they earned did not cover the basic needs of their households. They explained:

I was not working full time, I was always doing piece jobs, it was not enough to meet my needs that is why I decided to apply for a social grant.
[Eunice]

I was working as a part-time domestic worker. It was a piece job, and the money was not enough. Due to my small income, I thought it was important to apply for a social grant, because I do not have someone to look after my kids, to buy food and clothes for them. [Eunice]

Given, a 62-year-old retired woman, who has an employed child, indicated that her child's salary was too small to cover their basic needs, including their medical expenses. She explained:

My child who is working is not able to buy us groceries because she is earning very little. So now, she is pushing to get her certificate so that she can get a better job and earn more money, so that she can manage to support us.

The two main reasons expressed by research participants, namely lack of employment and inadequate income, have a negative impact on the socioeconomic conditions of many poor households in South Africa, including households affected by HIV and AIDS. Due to a lack of education, many people find themselves unemployed or only able to get piece jobs, which do not pay them enough to meet their basic needs and have a sustainable livelihood. It must be borne in mind that some members of a household affected by HIV and AIDS live with HIV. Therefore, they must eat nutritious foods to boost their immune system, and to be able to take medication. They also need money for transport to go to health care facilities, look for jobs, or to do piece jobs. Children also need clothes, including school uniforms, and adequate food, so that they can concentrate at school. With such challenges, poor households do not have any choice other than to apply for social grants, which is also their right, in order to meet their basic needs and improve their living conditions.

6.4.3 Application and payment process for social grants

The majority of interviewees who are social grant beneficiaries acknowledged that they did not have problems applying for social grants, or in receiving their grant payments regularly. They indicated that the only time when they did not receive their payments was when SASSA cut their social grants, in cases where the beneficiary no longer qualified for grants, for example, when the child reached the age of 18, or when there was a problem related to their registration on the system, or where fraud had occurred. Participants also admitted that they were well treated by SASSA officials when they visited their offices, despite some cases raised by three of the research participants.

The following views were expressed by some research participants, namely **Pindi, Faith and Leleti**:

No, they did not give me a problem; it took just two days for my application to be approved. [Pindi]

Mavis: no, everything went well, they did not give me any problems. [Faith]

They helped me, and I did it easily. [Leleti]

As indicated above, all of the participants reported that they did not face problems with regard to payment, as they received their social grants regularly and on time, without any problems. **Bongi** stated that:

Yes, I receive my social grants without any problems every month.

This view was shared by **Lola**, who indicated that when SASSA wants to cut your social grants, they will inform you in advance in writing. She explained:

Yes, I receive my social grants regularly. When SASSA wants to cut your social grant, they will send you a letter to notify you that they will cut it in a few months.

Elisa, an official from SASSA, also supported the views of Bongi and Lola, but mentioned some cases where people do not receive their social grants. The first case is when a person wants to get payment for a child who is not registered on the system. In that case, SASSA physically reviews the person, together with the child, at one of their offices. Another case of non-payment is when the beneficiary gives his or her card to a moneylender, who regularly withdraws money on his or her behalf. Furthermore, when the social grant lapses, or if there is a case of fraud, the social grant will not be paid to the beneficiary. She explained:

A person wants to get a social grant for a child, but the child is not registered. How did it happen? So we call the person to review him or her and the child. If he or she does not come with the child, we stop the grant for three months; we give them three months to come in. Another case is when their disability grant of six months lapses, or when people go to moneylenders to borrow money. In this case, they give the card to the moneylender, who goes to withdraw the money, and they are left with nothing.

The majority of the participants expressed their gratitude to SASSA officials for the way in which they are treated when visiting their offices for information or

social grant applications. Below are the views of some of the participants, namely **Mapula**, **Leleti** and **Maki**:

They assist me and treat me very well. [Mapula]

....of course yes, they are very respectful. [Leleti]

They treat me very well. [Maki]

Despite the majority of participants acknowledging the good treatment they receive from SASSA officials, three participants raised some issues with regard to SASSA officials.

Lola, although she acknowledged the good treatment that she receives, raised the issue of the attitude of some SASSA officials when providing services to the beneficiaries. She gave the example of one day when she visited one of the SASSA offices during business hours to request a service, and the officials did not want to serve her, without giving a proper reason. They just asked her to come another day. She stated the following:

Not every time. There are some officials who take advantage of us by saying whatever they want to say to us. For example, I can be at their office on time, and they say that they cannot assist me today, and that I must come tomorrow. Some have a bad attitude.

The same view was expressed by **Bongi**, who acknowledged the good treatment that she received from SASSA officials, but raised the issue of tribalism and the use of bad language that she experienced one day with two SASSA officials, when greeting them in Tsonga, her home language. The two officials did not appreciate the way in which she greeted them in her home language. They wanted her to greet them in their respective languages, which she did not know. She explained:

At SASSA they treat me very well, but they did not treat my child (small child) very well, because I went there and found a lady who was sitting with a guy, and greeted them in my language (Tsonga), as I do not know

other languages. And that guy said that black people think that all Blacks are from Giyani.

Given, a 62-year-old retired woman, who, despite being qualified to apply for an old age grant, did not want to do so because of the bad treatment she had received from SASSA officials when she went to apply for her grandchild's support grant. This bad treatment from SASSA officials discouraged her from applying for her own old age grant. She explained:

I lost my first born in 2006 when she was giving birth. She gave birth to twins; one twin passed away when she was 12 months, and the other one is still alive. When I went to register my grandchild at the SASSA office, SASSA officials were looking at me up and down. However, I managed to register the child, and got the money for two months. After two months, they stopped the grant. I was discouraged, and asked social workers to do it for me, as I did not want to go there anymore. It took them five years from 2006 to 2011 to register my grandchild. So with that bad experience, as I am a short-tempered person, I do not want to go back there to apply for my own grant (old age grant), thinking that they will do the same thing that they did to my grandchild.

From these narratives, it can be argued that although the majority of people are well treated by SASSA officials when visiting their offices, there are, however, instances of some SASSA officials having a bad attitude towards current and potential social grant beneficiaries, which may discourage some beneficiaries from seeking assistance from SASSA. This is the reason why many poor people, despite qualifying for social grants, such as Given, prefer to remain in their bad living conditions than to seek assistance from the government. Tau (2016) indicates that many social grant beneficiaries, including disabled and elderly people, are often badly treated by SASSA officials at their regional offices. Despite the special arrangement made by SASSA management to look after disabled and elderly people, such as "Express Queues", where disabled and elderly people can be assisted without standing in long queues, many current and potential beneficiaries are still discouraged from visiting SASSA offices for their social grant payments or applications.

6.4.4 Use of social grants by households

With regard to how interviewees who are social grant beneficiaries use their social grants, all of them highlighted the issue of the limited amount of money that they receive, which does not meet their basic needs. For this reason, they indicated that the money is often used for urgent basic needs, such as food and transport to hospitals, schools, piece jobs, and to look for a job. Sometimes, the money is used for rent or electricity, or for children's crèche fees, or household members' clothes and footwear. Some participants indicated that they used it to reinforce their income-generating activities. Many scholars have indicated that social grants assist poor households to satisfy their basic needs, such as food, transport, clothes, and shelter, which also helps them to improve their health and living conditions (Patel 2013:9; Jacobs *et al* 2010:2; Van Der Berg *et al* 2009:30-32).

Lola, who has been in the social grants programme since 1999, has built some rooms in her backyard with her social grant money, in order to help her to get an extra income. She receives a total income of R4 380 per month, of which R2 280 comes from six CSGs of R380 each, and R2 100 from the renting of these rooms. She explained how she uses her income:

From the social grants money, I pay fees for the crèches of my two grandchildren; I pay R450 for electricity for three rooms, buy food, which costs me a lot, as I have many kids, mostly boys, who like to eat. I am supposed to buy clothes for them, but the most important is to buy food for them. I also use the money for transport to the hospital. I have to leave my place at 3:00 am to go with the child to Laudium Hospital. And when my daughter wants to go and look for a job, I have to pay for her transport.

Similarly, **Bongji**, who has been in the social grants programme since 2006, has built three rooms in her backyard with her social grants money. She is also a member of a "stokvel" (a South African informal investment society), to which members regularly contribute an agreed amount, and from which they receive a lump sum payment), to which she contributes R500 every month. Apart from the

stokvel money, she gets a total of R4 530 each month, R2 280 from six CSGs of R380 each, and R2 250 from the renting of the rooms. She explained how she uses her income:

I use the money to pay R500 for stokvel each month. The other money I use to buy food; pay for electricity, water and burial society (funeral cover). At the end of the month, I can manage to remain with R1 500. With the stokvel, I receive R 4800 at the end of the year, and use the money to build rooms, and buy clothes and shoes for my kids for Christmas.

The stories related by the two women above show that there are some beneficiaries, despite their low level of education and limited amount received from their social grants, who know how to manage their grant money and have a sustainable livelihood. This means that some social grant beneficiaries, instead of waiting for the government to improve their living conditions, try their best to maximise their talents and abilities, in order to survive. Robeyns (2005:101), citing Sen, argues that some poor people often use their basic talents and abilities to perform certain activities needed to survive or escape poverty.

Food is a basic need that the majority of participants prioritise when spending their social grant money. Although the money received may not cover the whole month, depending on the number of household members and the value of social grants, it can at least assist the household to buy food, such as maize meal, rice, bread, sugar, vegetables, and sometimes meat and fish. Some households are assisted with food parcels, which supplement their food stock. This helps them to fight malnutrition and food insecurity. Studies conducted by the Economic Policy Research Institute suggest that social grants have a significant impact on households' poverty alleviation in terms of nutrition, health, education, and vital services (Samson, MacQuene & van Niekerk 2006:3).

The following views were expressed by some participants, namely **Refilwe**, **Pindi** and **Sonto**, regarding the use of their social grants to buy food:

I buy food and pay back my debts, including the SASSA loan. [Refilwe]

I buy my child lunch for school and food for my house, but sometimes, my young brother assists me with money for food. [Pindi]

With the money, I buy food and drugs (medications), and pay my children's crèche fees. [Sonto]

Since the majority of research participants are from households affected by HIV and AIDS, which means that some of their members may be sick and frequently visit hospitals or clinics for treatment and medication, money is also spent on their transport to hospitals or clinics, some of which are quite far from their homes.

Silvia, who lives with HIV and has a spinal cord problem, together with her 16-year-old daughter, who also lives with HIV, frequently use local transport to go to Kalafong hospital in Pretoria, which is far from their home, for their treatment and medication. She explained:

I use the money for my child and I to go to hospital to get medication and treatment.

Given regularly uses, some of her social grant money for the transport of her ill daughter to the hospital for treatment or medication; or to visit her in hospital, whenever she is hospitalised. She explained:

I also use some of the money for e transport to the hospital and for my daughter's treatment.

Some beneficiaries use social grant money to pay for the school transport of their children and/or themselves, in cases where the educational institutions they attend are far away from their homes.

Maki, a single mother of three children, uses some of her children's support grant money to pay for the school transport for one of her secondary school children. She explained:

Each month, I pay R 250 for school transport for my kid, as the school is far away from where we stay.

Pinki, a caregiver who works on a daily basis with social grant beneficiaries in the community, supports this by indicating that besides food and other basic needs, some beneficiaries use some of their social grant money to pay for the school transport of their children or themselves. She explained:

Some beneficiaries, besides buying food for the household, also use it for transport to school or other places.

Some household members, as most of them are formally unemployed, sometimes use the social grants of their children or elderly relatives to pay for transport to go to their piece jobs, or to look for jobs in town, which is quite far from where they are living.

Nsimba, an official from the DSD, gave the example of one of her colleagues, who testified that for him to get his job at DSD, he frequently used some of his child's social grant money to go to an internet café to search for a job, and to pay for transport to job interviews, including the DSD, where he got his job. She explained:

There is a colleague who indicated that the social grant that he received helped him to get access to the internet, because there are other costs such as transport, internet or looking for employment that cause peoples to use their social grants.

Some participants indicated that since they are not at home most of the time, as they are busy doing piece jobs or searching for jobs, they have to send their young children to private crèches, because there are no public crèches in their communities. Therefore, they have to pay crèche fees for their children, which cost between R400 and R500 per month. This is more than the CSG of R380 that they receive on a monthly basis, and they are forced to look for other money each month to cover this expense.

Mendi, a 22-year-old single mother, who is doing computer training at a skills development centre in her community, explained how she uses her child CSG to pay her crèche fees:

The R380 CSG helps me to take my child to day-care, which is R450, so I have to add some money.

Similarly, **Eunice** and **Lola** use some of their households' social grants to pay for their young children's crèche fees, and explained as follows:

I pay for crèche for my child, and food for her school, and for the transport as well. [Eunice]

From the social grants, I also pay for the crèches of my two grandchildren.

Some participants use social grants to buy clothes and shoes for their children or themselves, either through cash or lay-buy, in case the money they receive is not enough to immediately buy the things they want.

Happiness, a 31-year-old single mother of three children, uses some of her children's CSG money to place a lay buy for their clothes. She explained:

I place a lay buy for the clothes and shoes of my children from the CSG that I receive.

Bongi, as explained above, uses the money that she receives from the stokvel to buy clothes for her children for Christmas.

Some research participants indicated that they use some of the social grant money to pay for electricity or rent, especially in the case of those who are renting shacks in the backyard of the owner's compound.

Wendi, a young 19-year-old orphan, who heads her household, and rents a shack for her and her four siblings, explained how she uses some of the social grant money that she receives:

I use it to pay for electricity and rent. I pay R150 for electricity and R200 for rent.

Similarly, **Lendiwe** uses some of her CSG to pay for electricity and rent, and she explained as follows:

I buy electricity and food and pay the rent.

As the majority of research participants indicated that the social grants received were not sufficient to meet their basic needs, some of them preferred to invest some of their social grant money in income-generating activities, such as a small business or building rooms for rent, where they can get an extra income. Two good examples of this are **Lola** and **Bongi**, as discussed in the beginning of this section, who use some of their social grant money to build rooms, and rent them out to get extra income. **Bongi**, who dropped out of school in Grade 1, even went so far as investing in a stokvel, which gives her more money to invest in other small businesses.

This was confirmed by **Pinki**, who explained:

Some beneficiaries save money for things like building rooms that they can rent to get more money. The money that they receive helps them to improve their living conditions. If that money was not there, some of them would be sleeping with an empty stomach.

From these above narratives, it can be concluded that despite the small amount of social grant money received, the majority of beneficiaries use their social grants to buy food, which is the most urgent basic need, in order to prevent malnutrition and death within their households. They also use this money for basic needs such as transport, electricity, rent, and clothes. Some beneficiaries, such as Bongi, use some of their social grant money to invest in income-generating activities to get extra income, which can assist them to meet other basic needs. This is confirmed by Khosa and Kaseke (2017:360-362), who conducted a study on the utilisation of CSGs by caregivers in South Africa, and found that social grants, especially CSGs, are mostly spent on basic needs such as food, transport, clothes, crèches and electricity.

However, although some beneficiaries use social grant money to supplement the crèche fees of their young children or grandchildren, the majority of them,

except those who invested in income-generating activities, do not have money left at the end of the month to pay for their studies, in order to improve their educational status and living conditions. Most of the participants acknowledged that it is very difficult to secure a proper job these days in South Africa, without having at least a matric qualification. This means that many social grant beneficiaries are continually dependent on social grants for their survival, as discussed in the next section.

6.4.5 Dependency on social grants

In light of the fact that most of the interviewees who are social grant beneficiaries have been in the social grants programme for many years, the researcher sought to establish their views about depending on social grants for survival, and how they would cope if removed or suspended from social grant programmes. With regard to the issue of dependency on social grants, there were mixed views, but the majority of participants indicated that they were not happy about depending on social grants. They wished to earn their own money from work, and not get assistance from the government in terms of grants. Only a few held the view that they do not see a problem in depending on social grants, as it is part of their rights, especially for their children. In terms of how they are going to cope if the grants are suspended or cut, the majority of them indicated that it would be very difficult for them to survive, as they are not working - the social grants help them to meet their basic needs.

The majority of the participants did not feel proud about depending on social grants. They wanted to work and earn their own money, but because of their situation, whereby they were either not working or not earning much, they did not have any other choice than to depend on social grants.

Lola considered herself as an independent woman, who does not like to rely on other people or institutions for her survival. She was disappointed about having to rely on the social grants programme to meet her household's basic needs. This is the reason why she prefers to invest some of her social grant money in income-generating activities, in order to prepare herself to be independent in

future. She also felt bad about the government spending billions of rands each year on social grants, which could be used in other areas to boost the economy of the country. She explained:

No, I am an independent woman. I like to do things on my own. I am happy about the social grant that I receive, but I do not feel proud about receiving it at my age, but there is nothing that I can do. That is why I started to create something, so people will see that even if they cut the grant, I will be able to do something in the future, rather than depending on social grants. In addition, the government spends R100 billion on social grants every year, and that thing will destroy our economy in the future, because we keep having kids, and there are now many kids in poor families. So I am not happy, but there is nothing I can do. Even going to SASSA to apply for social grants, I am not happy, even my sister here (the translator) knows that I like to work. If I can get a job now, I will go to SASSA to ask them to remove my name from the list, but because of my age, they cannot give me a job.

Similarly, **Happiness** regretted not completing her studies, which could have helped her to get a good job and live a better life with her family. She explained:

No I am not proud, I regret not completing my matric, If I had my matric, I could get a good job and support my kids and myself.

Marc, a 19-year-old youth who is currently studying a computer course at a skills development centre in his community, and staying with his mother and siblings, also shared these views, indicating that his family and himself are not proud about depending on social grants. He argued that many people who are in the social grants programme believe that it is the end of their lives. They do not think further about how to increase their income, live better and exit one day from the social grants programme. As he is also studying part-time for Bachelor of Commerce (Bcom) at UNISA, he indicated that after completing his studies, he would open his own consulting company to assist people to discover their potential and live a better life. He explained:

I am not proud because I do not think that receiving the grant is a good thing. People who receive social grants believe that it is their stop; it is

like they do not want to go further in increasing their income. Not receiving social grants, I think that people will go far by working hard if they do not receive social grants. I do not want people to be dependent on social grants; I want to change their mindset.

Many scholars who have conducted studies on the issue of social grant dependency in South Africa, support the views of Lola, Happiness and Marc. They indicate that the majority of social grant recipients in South Africa do not want to be dependent on cash transfers from the government. Instead, they are extremely motivated to look for jobs, in order to get out of the welfare system as soon as possible (Ferreira 2015; Surrender, Noble, Wright & Ntshongwana 2010; Hassen 2009).

In light of the issues raised by Lola regarding government spending on social grants, this is a cause for concern among scholars and politicians, including former South African President, Jacob Zuma, who indicated that the government cannot continue to sustain the growing number of social grant beneficiaries by spending more than R100 billion each year (Ferreira 2015). Instead, the government has to think about new strategies to deal with the situation. For instance, it has to decide whether to increase taxes, or to cut state spending by curbing social grants. (Surrender *et al* 2010; Reynolds 2012; Kelly 2013; South Africa National Treasury 2016; Ferreira 2015).

Nsimba, an official from the DSD, has a different view regarding government spending on social grants. She believes that what the government is spending on the rich is even more than what it spends on the poor. She gave the example of tax subsidies for retirement, which amount to far more than the allocation of social grants to the poor. According to her, the problem is the economic structure of the country, which does not make enough provision for job creation. This causes many poor people to depend on social grants for many years. She explained:

It is easy to say that the government is spending more money on social grants, but do you know how much money the government is spending on the richer part of the population? For example, right now, there are tax

subsidies for retirement, but the social grants that we are talking about is a form of support that the government is also giving to the rich. The problem of increasing the number of people in the social grants programme goes with the structure of the economy. Yes, in general, the amount seems to be a lot, but what could be preventing people from getting out could be the fact that the beneficiaries are not sufficiently educated. So people are spending all the money on food, it means that you cannot go out necessarily, it will support you to get food, but it will not help you to participate fully in the economy. Printing a CV costs a lot, and that is why you find that some people find it difficult to get out of the system.

Mabugu and Chitiga-Mabugu (2013) support Nsimba's view, arguing that the longer-term fiscal imperative to limit the future growth of social grant spending is unfounded. Their findings show that the grants system is currently not a threat to fiscal sustainability. Instead, it combats poverty among vulnerable social groups, such as children and elderly people.

Some interviewees felt confident that depending on social grants was an acceptable way to meet their basic needs. They were in fact happy to receive money from the government. Some even wanted to depend on social grants for the rest of their lives, despite changes in their socioeconomic conditions.

Francisca indicated that she is proud to depend on social grants, and even if she were to get a better job, she would still want the government's money for the benefit of her young children. Below is a small portion of her interview regarding the issue of depending on social grants:

Researcher: *If you get a matric, do you think that you are going to get a better job, and you will not need a social grant anymore?*

Francisca: *I will need it; it is better than nothing.*

Researcher: *Tell me then, if you get a better job, like a director in a big company earning something like R30 000 per month, are you still going to need social grants?*

Francisca: *Yes!*

Researcher: *But you will be earning a lot of money?*

Francisca: *It is for my children, not for me.*

Researcher: *Do you think that if you are earning R30 000 per month, you cannot pay your children's school fees?*

Francisca: *Yes, but I still need it (social grants).*

Linda shared the same view as Francisca, and was happy and proud to depend on social grants all her life. She explained:

Yes, I want to continue receiving social grants.

When asked how they would cope if their grants were stopped, the majority of participants indicated that it would be very difficult for them to survive. Although the money is not enough to cover all of their basic needs, it somehow helps them to meet some of their basic needs, such as food and transport.

Sonto indicated that being unemployed, her siblings and herself depend entirely on the CSGs that they receive, which amount to R1 140 per month. Cutting or suspending the social grants would therefore make it very difficult for them to survive. She explained:

No, because we depend fully on the CSG, there is no other income from anywhere.

Eunice and **Leleti** shared the same views, by indicating that they did not know what they would do if SASSA cut or suspended their social grants. They explained:

If they cut, I do not know how I am going to survive, I do not have a plan for that. [Eunice]

...Oh no (smiles), I cannot live without it. [Leleti]

Even **Bongi** and **Lola**, who received an extra income from their income-generating activities, believed that it would be difficult to live if their social grants were cut or suspended, because they help a lot to meet some of their basic needs. They explained:

Without that money, I cannot live well, because I do not have a brother or sister who can assist. So if I do not get that money, I will not survive, because no one can come to give me some money to buy food for the kids, so I am depending on these grants seriously. [Bongi]

That will be difficult, because with social grants you can buy something. It is possible if you are working, but if you do not work like me, it is difficult. If tomorrow they stop, people will cry. Social grant money takes us half way. We do not spend that money carelessly, we pay the kids' crèche fees, so that we can go and look for a job. That crèche costs us R400 per month, and kids when they go to school, they need uniforms, you must pay money for food, which is expensive. [Lola]

From these narratives, it can be inferred that although the majority of interviewees are not proud about depending on social grants for their survival, including those who are getting extra income from their income-generating activities, they are not prepared to live without social grants, even if their socioeconomic situation changes. This shows that after depending on the social grants programme for a long time, these interviewees have developed a mindset of dependency. Careful strategies would be needed to empower these recipients to change their minds.

6.5 UNDERSTANDING THE IMPORTANCE OF HUMAN CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT

In this section, the research participants' perceptions regarding the importance of education in their lives, as well as to the community and the country, are

discussed as an introduction to human capacity development. As explained in Chapter 5, the pilot study revealed that the notion of human capacity development was not familiar to social grant recipients. However, they were able to speak about using their grants for further education or about the need for skills training to enable them to obtain a better income or for self-actualisation. As most of the interviewees who are social grant beneficiaries had not completed secondary school, they openly discussed their views regarding the obstacles to further studies and the consequences that this has for their living conditions and employment status.

6.5.1 Understanding of the human capacity development concept

Even the caregivers, NGO officials, SASSA officials and DSD officials found the notion of human capacity development difficult to understand. Among the twelve NGO and DSD officials who were interviewed, two participants, who were caregivers from NGOs, indicated that they had never heard the term, despite having a tertiary level of education and being involved in many community development projects run by their organisations. Below are the views of **Pinky** and **Dlamini** on the issue of understanding the “human capacity development” concept:

I never heard that word before. [Pinky]

No, I never heard about that. [Dlamini]

Those who tried to explain the concept focused on the provision of skills to people to acquire knowledge and improve their living conditions.

Matata, the programme manager of a skills development centre, considered human capacity development as the development of people through the acquisition of certain abilities that might assist them to do something in life. He explained:

Human capacity development is about equipping someone with certain abilities, so that they can do something on their own.

This view was shared by **Gift** and **Grace**, two social workers from NGOs, who considered human capacity development as training and knowledge provided to people for their development. They explained as follows:

Human capacity development is to give somebody skills to develop himself or herself. [Gift]

Any training, knowledge, or information that could be given to people to develop their skills. [Grace]

Pasi, a public relations officer at a skills development centre, also agreed with the above participants, but added the aspect of using skills to secure employment in the economic sector. He explained:

My understanding is exactly what we are doing, the skilling of human beings and their placement in the economic sector, where they can get employment.

Despite the complexity and vagueness of the term “human capacity development”, as expressed by various scholars in Chapter One (Section 1.6.2), the views of these research participants are in line with how this term is defined in this study. Human capacity development refers to the educational and/or training investment by the government or private agencies in individuals or members of households, in order to help them acquire the necessary skills and knowledge for their wellbeing and the development of the country.

6.5.2 Importance of education

With regard to the question of the importance of education in people’s lives, especially social grant beneficiaries, there were many views from research participants, depending on their domain of interest. For some, education assists in gaining knowledge, getting a better job, or starting a business. For others, it allows people to have a bright future or assist members of the community. Many research participants viewed education as a tool to gain knowledge that can assist a person to do many things in life, such as being able to read, write, and to think about matters in an informed way, or to succeed in life.

Wendi, a 19-year-old mother with Grade 9, suggested that education gives people knowledge and opportunities in life. She regrets not going as far in school as her friends, and does not know how to read, write and speak English well. She explained:

Education means so much to me, because I do not know many things now. My friends, who went to school, now work, but I am just sitting, doing babysitting; I want to go back to school. I do not know how to explain things in English, because I need to read, I do not know how to write and speak good English, so it is important to me.

Marc, a 19-year-old man, argued that without education, people will go nowhere, as education opens the minds of people and helps them to become independent. He explained:

Education is an important tool, because you will not go anywhere without it. You will need it everywhere. So for me, I use education to open my mind, and it helps me to become more independent.

Given, who lived as a youth during the apartheid era, supported Marc's view, arguing that during her youth, she did not know the importance of education, especially for women. She stated that she now realises the importance of education, as it opens people's eyes and minds. She explained:

In the beginning, during apartheid when we started, we did not realise that education was important, but now we can see that education can open your eyes and mind, so you can see what is right.

The majority of research participants believe that education is very important, as it assists people to get better jobs and have a brighter future. They argued that without education, it is difficult to secure a better job in South Africa or other countries. Having a good job through education will help people to improve their living conditions and have a better future. Below are the views of some of the participants regarding the impact of education on securing a better job and future.

For **Bongi**, education enables people to learn and get a better job, and without it, life is very difficult. She explained:

Education assists you to learn and be able to find a better job, without education, life is very tough. There is a difference between an educated and an uneducated person, that is why I am paying R300 per month for my daughter's school fees, and she is doing matric this year. So I will be happy to see her having a good job, like a manager or medical doctor somewhere, when she finishes her studies.

Eunice, who shared Bongi's view, indicated that education gives people the opportunity to get better jobs and have bright futures, and allows them to be independent. She explained:

Education is very important, if you are educated, you will get a better job and have a bright future, you will do things on your own.

Pemba, a 23-year-old woman who is re-writing her Matric after dropping out of school many years ago, indicated that she now sees the importance of education, which can assist her to get a better job and support her children. She explained:

Now education is very important for me because if I do not get an education, I will not get a good job to support my kids. I am doing it now because I have kids, before I was alone.

Some participants argued that education also helps to develop people in the community. They believed that when someone is educated, he or she can put his or her knowledge to use by serving the community, in order to develop its people through various community development projects.

Gift, a social worker, indicated that she uses her good education to change the lives of many people in the community and country, through different community development projects run by her organisation. She explained:

Education is important. When you are educated you can get a lot of information, you can change things in your country and community. You can help people to develop themselves. For example, in your community,

if there is no crèche, you can start to develop a crèche with the community's help.

The same view was expressed by **Francisca**, who saw education as going beyond assisting people to gain knowledge and get a job. She suggested that education also plays an important role in the development of the community and the country. She explained:

Education is important to me because it helps me to gain knowledge and get a better job, to look after my kids, and be important in the community.

However, despite acknowledging the importance of education in terms of assisting people to acquire knowledge, secure a good job and have a future without welfare dependence, **Lendiwe**, a 33-year-old woman with Grade 7, did not see things the same way as others. For her, education is important only for young children, not for adults, because are too old to study. She explained:

I do not see the importance of education; maybe it is important for my children, that is why I send them to school, but for me it is not important. As I did not go far in my studies, I want my children to go further than me. Things have changed; the education that we received then was different from what the kids are receiving now, so for me it is too late to study.

Similarly, **Linda**, a 34-year-old mother with Grade 11, considered herself to be too old, and did not have time to go back to school. For her, school is for kids, not for people of her age or above. She explained:

I do not know. I think it is good for kids, it is their responsibility, I do not have time (34 years old).

6.5.3 Household members' perceptions of the consequences of not having a post-secondary school education

With the majority of interviewees who are social grant beneficiaries not having a post-secondary school level of education, unemployment and dependence on social grants were everyday experiences. Most of these interviewees expressed

feelings of regret for not obtaining Grade 12. They regarded a Grade 12 certificate as the main requirements to secure a better job in South Africa, and to get out of poverty.

The majority of interviewees who are social grant beneficiaries regretted not going far in school. They expressed the view that if they had completed their studies, they could now have a better life.

Lola attributed her bad living conditions to the fact that she did not go far in school. She suggested that if an opportunity arose for her to go back to school, she would not hesitate to finish at least her matric. She explained:

Yes, that is why now I am suffering, because you know education is one's future. If it was not because of that issue, I would be back at school. Now you cannot get a job because everywhere you go, they ask if you have matric, now in our day it is even worse.

Eunice also regretted not going far in school. She argued that she could get more if she completed her studies, and stated the following:

Yes, I regret it because I cannot get much as I am not educated.

Similarly, **Khumalo**, who did not complete his matric due to financial problems, felt very bad. He explained:

I feel bad for not completing my matric, it is really affecting me.

Many participants raised the issue of not getting jobs because of their lack of matric. They indicated that without matric, it is difficult to get a job nowadays in South Africa. According to them, many companies in South Africa, when advertising jobs, have as one of their main requirements that candidates must have at least a matric. People who do not reach that level are not considered for employment, which forces them to continue living in poverty, and to depend on social grants for their survival.

Sonto confirmed this by indicating that without matric, it is very difficult to get a better job in South Africa, which is why she is planning to go back to school. She explained:

No, it is just that you cannot get a job without matric, so I am thinking of going back to school.

Khumalo felt that if he completed his studies, having at least a matric, he could get a better job, such as working as an electrical engineer or plumber. He explained:

If I was educated, I could be working as an electrical engineer or a plumber.

From the above narratives, it can be concluded that the majority of social grant beneficiaries, despite not completing their studies, or at least finishing Grade 12, acknowledged the importance of education in alleviating poverty. They viewed education as a powerful tool that assists people to acquire knowledge, secure a better job, and have a brighter future. They also acknowledged the impact that education has on the socioeconomic development of the community and country. They argued that an educated person, through his or her knowledge and, can contribute towards the development of the community and country. For this reason, many of them expressed feelings of deep regret about not completing secondary school, which they also regarded as the main cause of their living conditions and dependency on social grants. They were prepared, if opportunities were presented to them, to go back to school to get at least a Grade 12 certificate, in order to get a better job and improve their living conditions. These views are in line with the capability approach supported by scholars such as Sen and Nussbaum, who argued that people's capabilities give them the freedom to choose the kind of life they value (Sen, quoted in Deneulin & McGregor 2010: 503; Nussbaum 2011:20).

6.6 NON-PROFIT ORGANISATIONS' CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES FOR SOCIAL GRANT BENEFICAIRIES

6.6.1 Human capacity development assistance to social grant beneficiaries

There are various non-profit organisations in informal settlements that assist social grant beneficiaries in terms of human capacity development. Amongst them are NPOs that target households affected by HIV and AIDS, which assist with the social grant application process, community development projects, food parcels, school uniforms, social grant management advice, and other activities related to their sustainable livelihood and human capacity development. There are also NPOs that provide skills development training to vulnerable people in the community, including households affected by HIV and AIDS, and assist them with job placements and business opportunities. The researcher attempted to find out from some of these NPOs how they assisted social grant beneficiaries, especially those from households affected by HIV and AIDS, to become capacitated.

Many people in South Africa who qualify for social grants are not aware of their rights. **Matee**, an official from the DSD Development, indicated that to date, the government has only served 85% of people who qualify for social grants. Therefore, about 15% of qualifying people, including household members living with HIV and AIDS, are not receiving their social grants. This is where many NPOs working in the communities try their best to identify these people and help them with the social grant application process. Alternatively, they refer them to other departments, such as the Department of Home Affairs, and Department of Health, which can assist with the necessary documents related to their social grant application, such as birth certificates, identity documents and medical reports.

Grace, a social worker at a HIV and AIDS-related NPO, indicated that her organisation often assists household members in the community with their

application for social grants and other types of social assistance. In addition, she claimed that for those who do not have relevant documents, such as birth certificates, identity documents, and medical reports, they refer them to the appropriate institutions, such as the Department of Home Affairs and Department of Health. She explained:

Most of the time during our assessment, we provide referral letters to parents to go to Home Affairs to apply for birth certificates, but we have to insist, otherwise they will not go.

Sometimes, caregivers or social workers assist households to solve conflicts among members over the guardianship of children's grants, such as the CSG or care dependency grant. **Gift**, a social worker at a HIV and AIDS-related NPO, who often experienced these kinds of situations, explained:

You find that a child is in a family, everybody wants to apply for a foster grant for that child. Sometimes, they fight among themselves, because they need that money for themselves. In that case, we as caregivers, we have to intervene.

Many HIV and AIDS-related NPOs, which are not **accredited** skills development organisations, often capacitate households affected by HIV and AIDS through a community development project, such as a food garden, sewing and baking, so that they can escape from poverty and sustain themselves. They organise workshops and informal training on a regular basis, sometimes in partnership with the DSD and educational institutions, such as UNISA, where vulnerable people in the community can participate, including members of households affected by HIV and AIDS.

Pinky, a caregiver, indicated that their organisation, in partnership with DSD, sometimes organise food gardening workshops and training, where they teach vulnerable people how to do food gardening. She explained:

In 2015, people from DSD came to us, we took them to people who own pieces of land and taught them how to make their own food garden. We visit them from time to time to see how their gardens are progressing. Some come here to learn how to do a food garden, even though they do

not have space in their yards. We also provide them with vegetables to eat at home.

This was confirmed by **Grace**, a social worker, who indicated that on her organisation's premises, there is space for agriculture, where people are taught how to do food gardening. Some of their trainees, who do not have space in their backyards for agriculture, are allowed to cultivate a food garden on the organisation's premises, so that they can have food for their families, and sell some of it for extra income. She explained:

At our organisation, we have a garden where we teach and allow our clients to cultivate, so that they can have something to eat for their family. We also encourage them to make a garden in their backyards, but the challenge is that most of them do not have space.

Dlamini, another caregiver, indicated that her organisation is not an accredited skill development centre, but used to assist vulnerable people through community development projects such as sewing, where they are trained on how to do sewing to get extra income. She explained:

No, we do not have a skills development project, the only project that we had was sewing, where we taught people how to sew.

As the social grants provided by SASSA to the beneficiaries do not cover most of their basic needs, some non-profit organisations provide food parcels to most vulnerable households on a regular basis, in order to complement their food expenditure. The aim of this is to fight malnutrition and food insecurity among household members, especially school learners, who need adequate nutrition to concentrate properly in school.

Mandisa, an official from the DSD, indicated that her department, through its food bank programme, assists vulnerable households with food parcels to fight hunger and malnutrition. She explained:

During our assessment, you will find that parents are not working, but are living on the social grants of their children. Now you are looking at a family of seven people living on R380 each month. We ask members of this

family to concentrate on school or training, and forget about the food issue, we need to link their family to the food bank.

Pasi, an official from a skills development centre, confirmed this by stating that his organisation provides food parcels to poor families, and serves meals every day to vulnerable people at their centre. He explained:

We provide food parcels to parents, and kids get meals every day in our centre.

School uniforms are also provided to learners from vulnerable households that cannot afford to buy school uniforms for their children.

Mandisa indicated that her department together with schools, tries to identify children from vulnerable households at school, and assist them with school uniforms. She explained:

We provide school uniforms to needy learners at school. They are identified by schools, and we also profile the households that they come from.

To prevent social grant beneficiaries from misusing or spending their grants unnecessarily, the caregivers from some HIV and AIDS non-profit organisations, during home visits, often advise beneficiaries how to manage their social grants effectively, in order to meet their basic needs, including education.

Pinky indicated that she advises social grant beneficiaries how to budget properly, and encourages them to save some money for the school or university fees of their children or themselves. She explained:

We also assist them how to budget, so that they can save some money for school or university.

Grace shared the same view as Pinky, indicating that her colleagues and herself often encourage parents to budget properly by focusing more on the urgent basic needs. She explained:

We encourage parents to budget with their social grants, buy cheaper things, avoid spending money on things that they can live without, such as Dstv and other things.

Dlamini also shared this view, indicating that she often advises social grant beneficiaries to budget properly with their grants, and even invest some money in small business to get extra income, which can be used for other basic needs, such as school fees and transport. She explained:

Sometimes, I advise them to learn how to budget the money that they receive from social grants, by focusing on the most important ones, and opening small businesses, so that they are able to save some money for their children's crèche, transport, etc. Some clients accept my advice, and some do not.

Besides the human capacity development assistance provided by HIV and AIDS-related NPOs to social grant beneficiaries through community development projects such as food gardens and training in sewing, there are NPOs in the community that provide accredited skills development training, mostly to vulnerable youth between 18 and 24 years old, and poor women up to 35 years old. The aim here is to help them to acquire adequate skills to assist them to secure better jobs, improve their households' socioeconomic conditions, and to exit from the social grants programme. Most of the training provided by these skills development centres includes life skills, which are compulsory for all trainees; computer sciences; business management; cashier; security guard; call centre; motor mechanic; and bricklayer. The duration of each training course, including life skills, is approximately one month.

Priority is given to youth and women with matric, since according to the research participants, many companies prefer to employ people with matric. Youth with Grades 10 and 11 are sometimes accepted in the programme, but the centres encourage them to re-write their matric in order to have the chance of being to be employed. **Matata**, the programme manager of a skills development centre, explained:

In our organisation, we assist disadvantaged youth, out of school youth, substance abusing youth, and women, with skills development training. Priority is given to people with matric because it is difficult to get a job without matric. We will not have problems finding jobs for them, because most of our clients (companies) need people with a matric certificate. However, we encourage those without matric, like those with Grade 10 and 11, after being trained, to rewrite matric so that they are able to be employed.

Matondo, an official from a skills development centre, who shared the same view as Matata, indicated that his organisation focuses on youth between the ages of 18 and 25 years old. However, he mentioned that his organisation sometimes considers people above 25 years old, but they have to pass an aptitude test before being accepted for the training. He explained:

We cater for youth from the ages of 18 to 25. If there are people above that age who really want to do the training, we do take them, but our focus is on the youth, it does not mean that we discriminate against them. For old people, we ask them to come to our office, and we do some exercises with them.

When asked why adult men above 35 years of age are generally not considered for skills development training, the majority of participants indicated that they want to empower youth and women, and had received instructions from their donors, primarily the DSD and job placement companies, to focus more on youth and women. This is due to the fact that, according to them, the South African labour market targets more youth than adults for employment.

According to **Matata**, although they get instructions from their donors regarding the people who they should focus on, women are more vulnerable than men. They are often abused or mistreated by their husbands or boyfriends, especially when they depend on them financially. His view was that when a woman is well trained and employed, she can take good care of her household, and possibly exit the social grant programme. He explained:

There is no discrimination, we want to empower youth and women. If a woman has the capacity, it is very difficult for a husband or boyfriend to abuse or mistreat her, because she does have a say in the house. Unlike when a woman has to ask for money for food and other things. Men take advantage of that, because they will say she does not have a place to go because she does not have an income. 75% of our beneficiaries are females, and if the opportunity arises, for example, someone wants to employ 10 people, I send 6 females and 4 males. One of the females may have a child, who receives a CSG, so we want to take them out of the social grants system, because we want the government to save that money for other developmental programmes.

The way the programme was designed, 18 to 35, beyond 35, they are out of our programme, because when we report to the DSD, if you include people above 35, those people are taken out, the main focus is on youth. We have to empower youth, but we do not have a choice when it comes to women. For women, we can go beyond 35, depending on the situation, because we do an assessment of households, where we decide which women we need to help.

When **Mandisa**, the official from the DSD, was asked why adult men are not considered for skills development programmes, she indicated that, based on the experience they have gained since they started funding skills development projects, youth are more interested in this training than adults, including men. Another reason she provided was that many companies prefer to employ youth, rather than adults. For these reasons, they decided to focus more on youth than adults. However, she indicated that adults are not chased away from their skills development programmes, but the main problem is their job placement, which is a big challenge. She explained:

Our main target is youth; we even call our development centres “youth centres”. It does not mean that adults, those who are above 35, are excluded, but we decided to focus on youth. This started a year or two ago. The training courses were opened to everybody, but when we looked at the statistics, out of 100 people who we reached, 90 were young

people, and 10 were old people. Previously, we had skills development centres that targeted everyone, and youth development centres, which were very few. Then we realised that many youths were left out of our programmes, and people above 35 were underperforming, because it is difficult to find people above 35 who want to go back to class. Based on this trend, we deliberately decided to target young people in our skills development programmes. In addition, jobs that service providers would like training on require more young people than adults.

The majority of skills development NPOs have signed agreements with donors, especially the DSD, to secure jobs or business opportunities for their trainees after the completion of the training. Thereafter, they work in partnership with some job placement agencies, as well as public and private companies, in order to assist their trainees to get jobs and business opportunities.

Matata explained:

We do not only offer them skills development, we also assist them to secure employment, because the main objective is poverty alleviation. We can train people, but if they do not get employment, then it will not be poverty alleviation. It happens that sometimes, especially last year, we placed so many beneficiaries in jobs. It can be that beneficiaries are still in training, someone calls to tell us that he or she needs 10 people for certain qualifications, we can take them out of the training to get employment. Our main aim is not to train them, but to make them employable. The government will measure our performance not by the number of people we train, but the number of people we have placed in jobs. I think you are aware that 27% of people in South Africa are not working, so for us to reduce poverty, we have to train people, and put them in jobs, that is the main objective.

This view was supported by **Mandisa**, an official from the DSD who assists skills development NPOs with funding. She indicated that, based on the indicators that they agreed on with skills development NPOs, they have to report each

month on the number of people they have trained and placed in jobs. She explained:

In our annual performance plan (APP), we have indicators regarding the number of people accessing economic opportunities, where those NPOs report. Their reports can say, for example, that out of 50 people that we train, 10 are placed in jobs. We do look at that information; we call some of these beneficiaries just to verify if they were really placed in jobs. So NPOs report on a monthly basis, the number of job placements is not really what we would like it to be, because we also understand the economic situation of the country, but they do place them in jobs. Some trainees are not placed in relevant jobs, for instance, as part of the agreement with these NPOs, each person, who is part of their training programmes, must go through life skills.

6.6.2 Types of job placements and business opportunities for which assistance is provided

As indicated in the previous section, skills development NPOs have agreed with donors not only to train people (youth and women), but also to assist them to get jobs and business opportunities. Due to the short period of training, which lasts approximately one month, and the limited knowledge provided in this training, most of the jobs offered to the trainees are entry-level or N3 level jobs. These NPOs also assist trainees who want to open their own businesses or cooperatives with company registration, loans from the bank, and other services. Those who have attended food garden training are also assisted with seeds and pieces of land for agriculture.

The types of training provided to the people, such as cashier, data capturer, waiter, security guard, receptionist and call centre, are more entry level or N3 jobs, whose salaries range from R2 500 to R3 500 per month, depending on the companies that employ them.

Matondo explained what types of jobs they place their trainees in, and the range of salaries that they receive:

Most of our posts are entry level, and for the salary, it depends on companies, but mostly the minimum is R3 000 per month. Although the money is still less than the social grants system mean test, it will depend on the company as to whether to pay above R4 000, based on the qualifications and experience of the person.

This view was supported by **Pasi**, who indicated that most of their trainees are placed in entry level or N3 jobs, and earn between R2 500 and R3 500 per month, depending on the company. He explained:

There are N3 level jobs, like MacDonald's jobs, they work as waiters or cashiers, depending also on their qualifications. Obviously, the N3 level jobs pay about R3 500, R2 500 depending on which company they are working for.

The entry-level salaries earned by the skills development trainees are generally less than the social grants programme mean test. For example, for a single parent to qualify for a CSG, he or she must have an income of less than R3 800 per month, and a couple must have a combined income of less than R7 600 per month (Kelly & Ground Up Staff 2017), which are practically above the monthly entry-level job salaries. This means that, despite getting employment through skills development training, most of the youth and women who are trained will still be in the social grants programme, unless their salaries improve.

Other trainees, after completing training, such as bricklaying, electrical engineering, or business management, instead of relying on skills development centres or job placement agencies to look for jobs for them, prefer to embark on business ventures or have their own cooperatives. In this case, skills development centres assist them to register their businesses or cooperatives with Companies and Intellectual Property Registration Office (CIPRO), and connect them with financial institutions, such as the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), for possible business loans. **Mandisa** explained:

There are skills development centres that have cooperatives among their beneficiaries. When their clients are interested in business, they assist them to register their cooperatives. I remember people, who were trained

in bricklaying, wanted to establish their own cooperative, where they will be buying bricks and building for people, that option is there. The skills development centres assist them in terms of registration of their cooperatives with CIPRO, and over and above, they assist them with technical skills, like financial and management skills; they train them on those things. They also assist them with marketing, how to grow their businesses.

Pasi confirmed this, and explained:

Individuals that we trained, who want to start a cooperative, get connected to the National Development Agency (NDA), which will give them advanced business management training and assist them in getting funds from the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI).

For those who learned how to do food gardens and do not have space to cultivate, some skills development centres negotiate with municipalities on their behalf to get them a piece of land. They also sometimes assist them with different vegetable seeds that they can use for their farming.

Pasi, whose skills development centre assists food garden trainees with land for agriculture, explained:

We assist people, who do small-scale agriculture, with land. We also help them to apply for land in the municipality. There are pieces of land that are provided by Tshwane municipality for people who do farming. There are also schools that allow our people to do farming in their backyards, so we do help them with that.

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that non-profit organisations, such as skills development NPOs and HIV and AIDS-related NPOs, play an important role in the community in terms of the human capacity development of social grant beneficiaries. Their assistance includes helping them to get access to social grants; linking them to other social services, such as food parcels and school uniforms; providing them with skills development training; and securing jobs and business opportunities for them. All this assistance aims to improve the

living conditions of social grant beneficiaries, so that they are able to exit the social grants programme one day.

However, despite this assistance, many social grant beneficiaries, including NPOs, face numerous challenges, which prevent them from becoming fully capacitated, improving their living conditions, and exiting from the social grants programme. This is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

6.7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, data provided by the research participants and observations made by the researcher were analysed, in order to find out how social grant beneficiaries understand, apply and make use of the social grants they receive. Their perceptions regarding the dependence on social grants for survival were also analysed. In addition, this chapter analysed the information provided by officials from non-profit organisations and the DSD, including SASSA, regarding their human capacity development assistance to social grant beneficiaries, especially those from households affected by HIV and AIDS living in informal settlements.

From these findings, it can be concluded that social grants received by vulnerable people, especially households affected by HIV and AIDS, despite their limited amount, assist many of them to meet their most urgent basic needs, such as food and transport, but are insufficient to cover their educational needs.

Although most of them acknowledged the importance of education as a tool for gaining knowledge, getting jobs, and reducing poverty, their low level of education prevents them from securing better jobs, which forces them to depend on social grants for their survival.

NPOs operating in informal settlements try their best, with limited resources, to assist vulnerable people, including social grant beneficiaries, through community development projects and skills development training, to be capacitated, get employment or business opportunities, and live a better life.

Generally, most jobs provided to trainees are entry-level jobs, whose salaries are below the social grants mean-test, thereby forcing them to continue depending on social grants.

CHAPTER 7: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSES (PART TWO)

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter contains the second part of the findings from interviews with the research participants, as well as observations and notes taken at the research site. These findings are juxtaposed with the literature. In particular, this chapter looks at the challenges faced by social grant beneficiaries in meeting their basic needs, and their own capacity development. Suggestions made by research participants on how the government can improve the social grants programme are also analysed. Finally, this chapter outlines the conceptual or theoretical framework that links social assistance to human capacity development, which emerged from the data analysis.

7.2 CHALLENGES FACED BY SOCIAL GRANT BENEFICIARIES IN MEETING BASIC NEEDS AND CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT

As indicated in the previous chapter, social grants received by poor people, including households affected by HIV and AIDS, assist them to meet their urgent basic needs, such as food and transport. However, there are many beneficiaries of social grants who cannot even meet their basic needs related to human capacity development, job opportunities, or business opportunities.

7.2.1 Challenges faced by social grant beneficiaries in meeting basic needs

The majority of interviewees were concerned about the insufficient amount of the grant money. This issue becomes dire in cases where grants are discontinued for some reason, or when the recipient becomes disqualified. Some caregivers and social workers suggested that the reason for this is the misuse of social grants by some parents or guardians. In other words, because some beneficiaries misuse the grant money, to the detriment of direct recipients

(such as the elderly or children), everyone suffers as a result. Some interviewees suggested that conflicts arise between household members over the child care grant.

Such challenges influence the ability of beneficiaries to meet their basic needs and to improve their living conditions and sustainable livelihood. Foremost amongst their concerns was households who receive only one (as opposed to multiple) grant. Households with a single social grant are regarded as unable to meet basic needs, such as clothes, shelter, and education. This forces some of them to make use of other types of social assistance or income, such as donations or piece jobs, in order to supplement their basic needs.

Wendi, Lendiwe, Mendi and **Silvia** are among the social grant beneficiaries who complained about insufficient grant money. They explained:

...Because the money that I am receiving is not enough, so I do not have money to buy clothes and shoes for my kids and myself. [Wendi]

No, it's not enough for me; I cannot cover all my basic needs with the grant. [Lendiwe]

It is not enough, because I still have to add other money for my child's crèche. [Mendi]

No, it is not enough. Most of the time, it finishes before the end of the month. Like last month, I was in a wheel chair; I used all of the money for my transport to the hospital. There were some places where I wanted to go, but I could not because I did not have money. And my child wants things, even at their school, they want things, but I cannot pay because I do not have money. [Silvia]

The Democratic Alliance (DA) argues that social grants provided to vulnerable people, especially the CSG, are insufficient to cover monthly expenditure on basic needs. This is due to the high cost of basic products such as baby wipes, soap and milk. For the DA, the monthly cost of an average family in South Africa,

excluding rent, transport and airtime, is about R2 000 (DA 2016). The ILO (2017) argues that most governments increase social grants each year, yet this fails to improve the living conditions of beneficiaries. This is because, firstly, governments often do not consider the inflation rate. For example, in 2016-17, the cost of food prices increased by 16%, while the CSG only increased by 9%. Secondly, social grant money is used to cover a household's diverse needs. This is confirmed by Delany and Jehoma (2016:63), who argue that the continual increase of social grants, such as the CSG, still falls below the national food poverty line, and is thus insufficient to meet the cost of raising a child.

The second main issue that emerged was that the discontinuation of a grant can have dire effects on a family. For example, when the CGC is stopped after a child reaches the age of 18 years, or the DG is suspended when the recipient's CD4 count increases, this can have a negative impact on the entire household.

Bongi, whose child will turn 18 in 2018, explained:

Next year, I am going to struggle because my child will be in Grade 12, the school called me to bring her ID, they already registered her in that school for next year. I have to pay R600 per month; they only go there for 4 days a week. So next year I am going to struggle seriously.

Similarly, **Happiness** faces the same problem:

The problem that I have is that next year, SASSA will cut my child's social grant, and he is still in Grade 10, and next year he will be in Grade 11. And I do not know how am I going to survive, because I use this money to buy his uniforms, school shoes, and stationery.

With regard to the disqualification for social grants, **Cecilia**, an official from SASSA, indicated that temporary DG grant beneficiaries need to be assessed by medical doctors after six months, in order to find out whether they still qualify for a DG. Due to poverty and unemployment, some DG beneficiaries prefer to stop taking medications intended to decrease their CD4 counts, so that they can be reconsidered for the grant during medical assessment. She explained:

We found that some people like to stop taking their medications so that they can get the grant. They come when their CD4 count is low, and they

are very sick. In that case, we give them a disability grant for six months, and ask them to go back to their medications.

This is confirmed by Van der Berg *et al* (2009:34), who argue that due to poverty and the high unemployment rate in the country, some DG beneficiaries prefer to discontinue their HAART.

Some caregivers and social workers indicated that some parents or guardians use the CSG for gambling or to buy alcohol or drugs. Others give their SASSA cards to moneylenders. **Grace**, a social worker, explained:

Some parents use social grants for the wrong reasons, some gamble, some borrow money and give the lenders their cards. At the end of the day it becomes a problem, so we have to intervene in such situations.

Gift, another social worker, explained:

There are very few parents and guardians who use the child support grant and the foster care grant in a good way. Most of them misuse that money. If you conduct research on the foster grant, you will find that there is a huge problem. You will find that some of these kids do not go to school or do not have uniforms.

Gift further suggested that some mothers leave their children in the care of grandparents, but still use the SASSA card to withdraw cash to spend on themselves. When reprimanded by social workers, these mothers will refuse to cooperate, which forces social workers to contact SASSA to stop the card temporarily, until an alternative solution is found. She explained:

With the child support grant, we face many challenges. You may have a situation where a mother leaves her child with the grandmother, but she is using the SASSA card, without taking care of the child. When you call the mother about the situation, she replies that it is not your business. In this case, we write a letter to SASSA to stop the social grant card, and help the grandmother to renew the card for the child.

Studies conducted by DSD, SASSA and UNICEF in 2010 regarding the evaluation of the CSG in South Africa found that many parents or caregivers misuse the grant to cover expenses for alcohol, hairdressers, gambling, luxury food, and clothes. This is always to the detriment of the children concerned (DSD, SASSA & UNICEF 2011: 42-44).

Another challenge faced by social grant beneficiaries, especially children, concerns conflicts between household members over the guardianship of children. In some cases, the conflict is less about the guardianship and benefits to the child, and more about gaining access to grant money. **Julius**, a social worker, explained:

The other challenge is about foster children, where you find people, like aunties or uncles, who are fighting for a child foster care grant.

This view is supported by **Gift**, who indicated that when a child is placed with a foster family or household, conflicts arise that might require interventions by social workers, the police or courts. She explained:

You will find that a child is in a family, everybody wants to apply for a foster care grant for that child. Sometimes, they fight between them, because each person needs that money for himself or herself. When they receive that money, they are supposed to support the child, but in most cases, they do not do that. As a social worker, I only get involved when they are busy fighting.

DSD *et al* (2011:28) confirm that in some families and households, there are often conflicts among members who fight over child guardianship or who should register or collect the money for the child's social grant. From these narratives, it can be argued that many social grant beneficiaries, especially primary recipients, such as children, face many challenges when it comes to meeting their basic needs.

7.2.2 Challenges faced by social grant beneficiaries in developing capacity for improving income generation and employment opportunities

It has been explained above that the grant money is often insufficient to save or pay for education or skills development. This is exacerbated by the shortage of affordable (or free) vocational centres and training programmes in the community. Often, only the youth and women with Grade 12 are targeted for such training. Uncertain job placements and business opportunities also mean that even after completing such training, people are placed in entry-level jobs with small salaries.

Many social grant beneficiaries indicated that the money received is not enough to cover training or skills development needs. Most of the interviewees who are social grant beneficiaries did not complete secondary school, yet all of them are willing to go back to school to improve their level of education and have a chance to secure better jobs.

Mapula indicated that the social grant money that she receives is too little to save, including for education. She only saves when she gets money from other sources, such as piece jobs or donations. She explained:

I only save when I get other money, but from the social grant, I cannot save from it.

Happiness, who does not know what will happen to the studies of her children when their social grants are cut, saves at least R100 each month, in order to support the post-secondary studies of her children. Although the money saved seems to be little, she believes that it will somehow accumulate enough interest in the bank. She also hopes to secure bursaries for some of her children. She explained:

I save R100 per month in Capitec Bank to get interest and have money to support the studies of my kids when they finish their secondary schooling. Maybe it will not be enough; maybe one of them will get a bursary from the government.

Similarly, **Bongi**, who earns a meagre income from room rentals and stokvels, saves R300 to R400 for the university fees of her child. Although she is willing to go back to school, she believes that the money she is saving will not be enough to pay for her own studies. She explained:

For now, I am focusing on the university studies of my Grade 12 child. I have two bank accounts, and each month I put R100 in one account and between R200 and R300 in the other account. All this money, I think, can assist to pay for the university fees of my child next year. I want to go back to school myself, but I do not know where I will get money for my studies, as I am focusing on the studies of my child.

Many research participants lamented the absence of affordable vocational and training centres in their communities. In most of the informal settlements of Pretoria, there are only two such centres. **Lola** complained about the lack of skills development centres in her community, where a large number of youths and adults without secondary school qualifications can learn skills. She explained:

As you know, many kids in our community did not finish school because their parents are not working, and others finished matric, but their parents do not have money to send them to university. Due to unemployment, some of them are involved in activities such as drugs and prostitution. So, my suggestion is that government should build centres for us, old people, kids and OVC, because the social grants that they are giving us, we spend them mostly on crèches for our kids, as we pay R400 a month, it is even more than the Child Social Grant.

Mandisa, an official from DSD who coordinates the funding and activities of skills development NPOs in Pretoria, indicated that there are too few skills development centres in Pretoria. For example, Atteridgeville Township, with its six informal settlements, including Jeffsville, has only three skills development centres. She explained:

In other provinces, only a few NPOs are providing accredited skills development training. You cannot find them in all provinces. In

Atteridgeville, which includes informal settlements, like Jeffsville and Brazzaville, there are three skills development centres.

Matondo, an official from a skills development centre in Olievenhoutbosch, indicated that his centre is the only one that provides skills development training in Olievenhoutbosch, despite a large number of people living in that area.

The limited number of skills development and vocational centres in informal settlements poses a significant challenge for many youths and adults, who want to improve their skills. Being poor, having no money for transport, or living with illnesses, including HIV, will discourage many from registering for skills development training that will involve long commutes. This is confirmed by studies conducted by the HSRC and LGSETA (2017:80) on adults' learning challenges.

Beside the limited number of centres, there is also the problem of a limited number of training programmes provided by such centres. Because many of these centres are NPOs, they largely depend on government and private organisations for funding. **Pasi**, an official from a skills development centre, indicated that the competition between NPOs to secure funding from donors impedes their ability to expand their offerings to a wider array of training programmes. He explained:

Beside the budget problem and competition, the funding that we are getting from the DSD does not allow us to cover all our skills development programmes; they only fund us for computer training, not for plumbing and other training. Sometimes, you find that there are people who want to do different courses, but we do not have money to train them on that.

Matata indicated that they can only provide a limited array of training programmes, yet they never coerce people to do training on something they do not want, or do not see the value of. He explained:

When people come and want to do training that we do not provide, like electrical engineering, we cannot force them to do cashier or point of sale. Once we do that, we will have a huge drop out; we want a person who comes here to be committed.

Similarly, **Mandisa** argued that people who go to skills development centres for training have the right to choose the courses they want to do. If they are not interested in what is on offer, they can go to other centres. She explained:

When people approach skills development centres, they present them with the list of courses that they offer; it is up to them to choose which course they want to do. If they do not like the courses presented to them, they can look for another skills development organisation that provides courses that they want.

Although such referrals make sense, they are practically inaccessible for people who cannot afford to travel to them. **Matondo** indicated that their organisation often refers young people to other skills development centres that offer a wider selection of training programmes. These are located in Pretoria central or Midrand. To accommodate expressed needs, his organisation would take note of a demand for particular training programmes, and then look for funding to support them. However, donors or sponsors often demand job placements for successfully trained participants, so the demand is driven by what donors or sponsors regard as training programmes that will guarantee employment or income-generation, and not necessarily by the expressed needs of potential trainees. He explained:

When someone does not want what we offer, we refer him or her to other organisations. Last year, we had six of them; we transferred them to a college in Pretoria. If a person is not interested in the training we offer, we ask the person what they want to be trained in, and we may add it to our training programme and write it down. After that, we see how many people want a particular type of training. If they need that training, we plan to provide it. Like last year, we used to provide training for call centres and administration. The biggest problem was that we trained people, but they did not get jobs. That is why we decided to stop with those training programmes and focus on those that offer more job opportunities.

Because these skills development centres are funded by the government and private donors, they have limited budgets and are unable to offer a wide range

of training programmes. Some scholars argue that NGOs or NPOs facing such budgetary constraints cannot sustain or expand their activities (Maximpact 2017; Viravaidya & Hayssen 2001; Harir 2015). Consultation with community members (and especially with young people) to determine needs for training seems to be an obvious way to resolve this (Wilcox, 2003; World Bank, 1996; Usadolo & Caldwell 2016).

As discussed in section 6.6.1 of the previous chapter, the majority of skills development centres focus on the youth and women up to the age of 35 years with Grade 12. Young people without a Grade 12 qualification and adult men are thus neglected. They are only considered for community development projects, such as food gardens, as a basic survival strategy. **Matata** indicated that there is nothing they can do for young people without a Grade 12 certificate. He explained:

Men are not selected because of the way in which the programme has been designed, 18 to 35; older than 35, you are out of our programme. When we do M&E for DSD, if you include people older than 35 years, they say that those people must be taken out. The main focus is on youth. We have to empower the youth, but we do not have a choice when it comes to women. For women, we can go beyond the age of 35 depending on the situation. When we do assessment of households, we decide which women we should include.

Mandisa from DSD, who indicated that their skills development programme focuses more on youth and women, due to the high level of unemployment among these categories of people, especially youth, confirmed this. However, they do not chase away men who are willing to attend their training. She explained:

We deal with all categories of people, but we deliberately focus on women and youth, but if men find themselves in our programmes, we do not chase them away. However, the biggest target that is given to NPOs is that they have to look for young people, because there is high youth unemployment in the country. So, each department in Gauteng has been

given the mandate to deliberately target young people to alleviate poverty and unemployment among them.

Matondo indicated that although their skills development centre focuses on youth, they do not turn away adult women and men who want to do their courses. The only problem that they have with these categories of people is to get them employment, as most of the companies prefer to employ young people. Below is a short interview that the researcher had with Matondo:

Researcher: *What about people who are above 25 years old, like 30, 40 and 50 years old, can they do the training?*

Matondo: *Yes, last year, we trained some people who were about 40 to 50 years old.*

Researcher: *When they complete their training, do you look for jobs for them?*

Matondo: *We keep them in the system, but for them to get a job is very rare, because most of the companies that we are working with prefer youth, this is one of the challenges we have.*

Matata indicated that beside the instructions they receive from donors in terms of criteria for people to be trained, their training tends to favour technical skills and requires people who have at least Grade 12. In certain circumstances, they will train young people with Grade 10, but will encourage them to obtain Grade 12 in order to become employable.

Matata: *First priority is given to people with matric, because it is difficult to get a job without matric. We will not have problems placing people with matric at most of our clients (companies). However, we encourage those without matric, like those with Grade 10, after completing the training, to go and rewrite matric so that they can get the chance to be employed.*

Researcher: *What about vulnerable youth who have even lower levels of education, do you consider them as well?*

Matata: *How can you teach computer skills to such a person? How will you teach the idea of point of sale to such a person? And who will employ that person? We just put them in our database. We used to work with some construction companies, when they have projects and want people to work for them, maybe for six months.*

Researcher: *Until which grade do you accept people?*

Matata: *From Grade 10 upwards, less than Grade 10, we cannot take you, because it is very difficult to understand the ideas in our training programmes. I do not think that a company can employ a receptionist with Grade 8 or Grade 10 these days, the competition is too high. Sometimes, we do have graduate beneficiaries who are working in shops, because there are no jobs.*

Mandisa confirmed this. Youth with Grade 10 are sometimes accepted for low-level education training programmes, such as for a security guard. She explained:

I think there is a gap, most of the people who are needed in this programme are people with matric, and you find that most of the people who do not have matric are not part of the programme because of that requirement. You will find some people who have Grade 10 are accepted for security courses, but most of these skills centres take Grade 12, because most of the young people have passed Grade 12, but do not go further with their studies due to poverty, or their parents cannot afford to pay for their studies at university, or their Grade 12 is too poor to allow them to go to university or other tertiary institutions.

This bias in favour of youth and women with Grade 12 has a negative impact on the socioeconomic living conditions of these excluded categories of people. This constitutes a violation of their educational rights according to the South African Constitution, which stipulates in section (29) (1) (a) and (b), that “everyone has the right to a basic education, including adult basic education, and to further

education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible” (South Africa Constitution 1996). The fact that NPOs are largely funded by the DSD (public money) should mean that all categories of people are eligible for their programmes.

Another challenge faced by social grant beneficiaries is that some youth and adults are disinterested in education or skills development. They do not realise the importance of education for the improvement of their household’s living conditions.

Gift, a social worker, argues that in some households, young people do not respect their parents or guardians, do not attend school, or are involved in illegal activities such as drugs and prostitution. She explained:

Another challenge is orphans or youth, most of them do not want to attend school, they do not want to listen to their grandmothers or guardians, and some of them end up being involved in drugs, or girls fall pregnant.

Lola, who indicated that many young people in the community do not value education, confirms Gift’s view. She gave the example of her 24-year-old daughter, who has dropped out of school and prefers to party in taverns with friends and boyfriends.

Lola: *My boy likes school too much, but the girl, I am not sure, she likes things of this world more than her future. But in Accounting, she was the best, she even received an award from the government, but I do not know why she does not like school.*

Researcher: *But does your daughter understand the importance of education?*

Lola: *Yes, she does, but let me tell you my brother, our kids of today, they prefer to go to taverns rather than getting an education. They prefer their boyfriends over their parents, and they do not want to listen to anybody. This is our stress; can you imagine this child – she already has three kids.*

Dlamini, a caregiver, indicated that in her visits to many households affected by HIV and AIDS, she has found that adults lose interest in pursuing further education due to reasons such as bad health, lack of money, and lack of transport. She explained:

Some of the clients who are living with HIV, when I advise them to go back to school, they give reasons why they cannot go back to school, because they are sick and are getting treatment, some say that they do not have money, some say that it is a long distance - what happens if I collapse on the road?

A study conducted by Strassburg, Meny-Gibert and Russell (2010) on barriers to young people's attendance of school revealed that many youths in poor communities of South Africa drop out of school. This behaviour is then associated with risky behaviour, such as selling and taking drugs at school, unplanned pregnancies, bullying or violence in school, and psychological problems.

A further issue that emerged from the interviews is the mistrust of the training offered – mostly because of the belief that it is of an inferior quality and will not result in employment. **Matata**, the programme manager in a skills development centre, argued that many young people spurn their recruitment attempts because they see it as not equipping them to secure better jobs, and they prefer to register with colleges and universities. He explained:

Some community members think by coming to skills development centres, they are degrading themselves. It is better for them to go to a college or university.

Pasi, who indicated that many members of the community do not trust the credibility of certificates provided by skills development centres, confirmed this. He explained:

Some of our beneficiaries we use to tell them to bring us their children, but their children do not want to come. But if you go to their household, you will find that these children are also vulnerable, they are suffering.

They argued that they tried these things (skills development trainings); they never got jobs, so they give up.

A study conducted by Marock (2010:3) on challenges and recommendations with regard to skills development in South Africa revealed that the skills development system in South Africa is characterised by a high level of disintegration. This means that the system is fragmented and difficult to monitor. This, in turn, encourages inefficiency. There are many private skills development centres that are accredited with SAQA, but the system is unable to effectively and efficiently monitor the quality of their training programmes.

There are various financial assistance programmes that will support the training of vulnerable people, and these programmes are available to public and private sectors. However, most of the people are unaware of them (South Africa, Dept. of High Education and Training 2014; Career wise 2017). Before the announcement of free education by the former president, Jacob Zuma, in 2017, the Department of Higher Education and Training enabled training primarily via the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS). This programme provides study loans to academically-able but financially-needy students who wish to study at one of South Africa's public higher education institutions (South Africa, Dept. of High Education and Training 2014). The challenge, however, is that many people are not aware of this programme, or do not know how to access it.

Matee, an official from the DSD, indicated that her department, together with other government departments, identify and assist vulnerable youth to get access to NSFAS loans. She explained:

Like I said, the NSFAS can assist youth with free education, as mentioned by President Zuma, but it has to go through a process. So, the gap we identified is to get children who turn 18, and do not know how to get access to NSFAS. There is no linkage now between a child who lost a CSG and how to get access to the NSFAS. It is what we are looking at for now. So, what we have started as well, we are sitting on a committee with NSFAS, telling them about the list of our SASSA beneficiaries of CSG who passed matric, and asking them to regard them as a priority before considering

other students, to make sure that there is sustainability. And if they do not go to university, it does not end there, the same NSFAS support will extend to other colleges, or TVETs. So, if a child did not complete matric, she or he can still do vocational studies or skills development at those institutions.

Dlamini, a caregiver, indicated that she routinely informs households during her visits of the possibility of accessing government scholarships, including free colleges, where they can study free of charge or for nominal fees. She explained:

When I went to the ward, I used to ask people if they are studying. Some said no; some said that they were expelled from school because of their age, or because they do not have money. Then I introduced some to Tshwane South College (TSC), it is a free college, but you have to produce some documents for you to be accepted. Some have completed, some are still studying there. Others are doing ABET, matric night school; people pay, but it is not expensive, about R 500, but progressively.

These views are supported by Vallie (2017), who indicated that there are a large number of bursaries and scholarship available in South Africa, but many students are not aware of this.

Despite the training provided by skills development and vocational centres, there are no guarantees of job placements or business opportunities for trainees. Many research participants from training centres reported that they are doing their best to assist their trainees to secure jobs. **Pasi** indicated that although it is not easy to get a job in South Africa these days, his organisation tries its best to place at least 50% of their trainees in jobs each year. He explained:

It is not easy, as you know, since our policy of employment also puts pressure on companies, it is not easy - however, we are happy to say that 50% of our people that we trained, we managed to get jobs for them.

Matondo stated that after completing the training, trainees do not immediately get jobs, but their names and CVs are sent to job placement agencies that partner with their centre. He explained:

No, they do not immediately get the job. Some get the job while they are in training. But it depends, when we put them in the system, Lulaway (job placement agency) will look at the qualifications of the person, if the person has worked before, they will also look at experience, and if there is a post of administration or internship, or anything else, they will take them in.

This was confirmed by **Matata**, who indicated that because of the scarcity of employment in South Africa, some of their trainees are placed in jobs while they are still in training. He explained:

It happens that sometimes, especially last year, we placed so many beneficiaries in jobs. So, it can be that beneficiaries are still in training, and someone calls us to say that he needs 10 people for these qualifications, we can then take them out of the training, for them to get employment. Because our main aim is not to train them, it is for them to be employable. But for them to be employable, they must get the skills. So, if the opportunity comes while they are still in training, then we offer them the opportunity, even if they did not complete the training. For example, someone can do computer training, but that person has a sales and marketing qualification, we send that person wherever he or she wants to start the work.

This is one of the main challenges faced by many graduates and job placement agencies in South Africa. Some researchers suggest that the low quality and inadequacy of the educational system in South Africa is to blame (Statistics South Africa 2014; Kraak *et al* 2013; Kruss *et al* 2012; National Treasury 2011; Marock 2010; JIPSA 2010). According to Kraal *et al* (2013), many South Africans who have completed school and skills development training are often ill equipped to compete in the labour market. It is important for the private sector, government and educational institutions in South Africa to work together and agree on new curricula, so that skills received by trainees are more suited to what is required in the labour market.

Despite the job opportunities provided to social grant beneficiary trainees through job placement agencies, the majority of such jobs have entry-level salaries that range from R2 500 to R3 500 per month, which is less than R3 800, the minimum mean-test individual income needed to exit from the social grants programme. Although the income earned by entry-level trainees may improve their household total income, it keeps them dependent on social grants for survival. Such a heavy dependency can in turn prevent the government from shifting money allocated to social grant programmes to other social programmes, such as job creation, in order to boost the economy. Many research participants are aware of the situation, but there is nothing they can do. Some stated that people who start with entry-level salaries might see their salaries increase above the mean-test requirements through promotions. Others argued that the entry-level salary is often for people who did skills development training, not for those who went to university or colleges, and who, after completing their studies, may receive salaries above the mean-test requirement.

Mandisa acknowledged the challenges faced by social grant beneficiaries who got jobs through job placement agencies after completing their skills development training, but are unable to exit from the social grants programme due to the low incomes they earn. She opined that the quality of the training is to blame:

For them to exit the grants programme, remember the line for poverty is now R3 000, if their income is less than that money, they will receive social grants. So, you will find that even if they get a job and earn less than R 3000, they will not exit the social grants programme. Few people exit from our side because of the types of programmes we offer. Remember, the skills development training that we provide, the aim is to employ change agents so that they can bring change in their households. Our training consists of short courses, there are no two to three-year degrees or diplomas.

Pasi supported the view of Mandisa by indicating that skills development centres only enable trainees to take semi-skilled, poorly-salaried and temporary jobs:

I said there are two ways in which the DSD has approached this situation, there is welfare to work. In this programme, what they did before, they took people from community development centres, who are social grant recipients, and told them that as you have Grade 12 and get social grants, we will put you in the welfare to work programme. In that programme, we are going to train you at the institution you prefer. We will stop your grant and give you a stipend of R3 500 while you are studying at any university that you choose. So, they went through that process. After three years, when they are done with their qualifications, then they are assisted with placements. Obviously, when someone is from university, he or she does not start with a salary of R3 500, it is more, and the salary earned will allow him or her to exit from the social grants programme. That was their plan. These people got jobs from Pick' n Pay.

However, despite the small salaries earned by skills development trainees, not all of them were successful placements, as many were fired or resigned. **Mandisa** told stories of some young people who were assisted with job placements after completing their skills development training, but who decided to decline the offer, preferring to remain jobless and live in dire conditions. She explained:

There are some people participating in our programme, who do not realise the urgency of their situation. I normally like to talk about this thing, because I cannot myself forget it. In Brazzaville (informal settlement), there were 30 young people who did security training and the service provider said: I want 28 of you for clients where I place my guards, only you are starting this Monday. It was Wednesday when I went to their graduation. We were so happy that they graduated for that job. Come that Monday, they met with the service provider who told them that they will earn R3 500 for a probation period of 6 months, after which an increased salary will be negotiated. Out of the 28, firstly, 25 turned up at the meeting. Out of the 25, only 7 were willing to work. The rest of them said that R3 500 is too little. For me it was unbelievable. I was cross with the NPOs, because I felt that they have brought me the wrong people, but when I looked at the assessment forms, it was our target group. As I said,

we probably meet people who are not aware about the dire needs of their situation, people who are not aware of the crisis that they are facing.

Matondo also reported that some trainees often fail to arrive for job interviews:

The challenges are sometimes, you place people, but some are not happy about the job. They just drop out without telling us. Because if they told us at the start that they don't want this, we could have placed people who are interested in the jobs. Some people are called for job placements, but they refuse to go for interviews.

The data suggests that the government needs to revise the minimum wage policy, so that it is above the social grant mean-test requirement. In addition, it would seem that the importance of jobs for poverty alleviation needs to be emphasised in training programmes, as well as interviewing skills and how to remain in a job to gain experience.

7.3 SUGGESTIONS TO GOVERNMENT

The last theme of this study concerns the suggestions from the research participants on how the government can improve the social grants programme.

7.3.1 Suggestions with regard to the social grants programme

The majority of the research participants suggest that the government should increase the grant money. **Sonto**, suggested that the government increase the CSG to at least R450 per month:

The grant is not enough, I want the government to increase it to about R450 per child, although it still not going to be enough because I still cannot buy clothes and pay for transport.

Lindiwe suggested an increase to between R500 and R600:

I would like the government to increase the money maybe to R500 or R600 so that the money can be sufficient. This will help me to save at least something, so that my children can be able to go to university.

Linda suggested that for her household to be able to cover their basic needs, the government should increase social grants to at least R3 000 per month:

They must increase the amount of social grants, especially the CSG, to at least R 3000 to help cover basic needs, including transport.

Caregivers and social workers who work with poor households supported these views. **Gift**, a social worker who works closely with households affected by HIV and AIDS, stated that the social grants should be increased to at least R1 000 per child:

According to me the social grants are not enough, because you can find that the mother and the father in a household are bedridden, and a child who is 14-years old withdraws a CSG of R380 to take care of the needs of the whole family, I think the government should increase it maybe to R1 000.

Dlamini, a caregiver who works closely with households affected by HIV and AIDS, said:

The government should increase the social grants, especially child support grants, because some of the kids are on ARVs, and they need nutritional foods, transport to go to hospital for treatment or to go to school, and the money provided by the government is not enough to cover all these needs.

The interviewees suggest that an increase in the grant amount is needed, and that this should be determined by socioeconomic factors, such as inflation and the cost of living, so that beneficiaries can benefit from the increase. This suggestion was taken into consideration by the South African government in its 2018 budget, indicating that the 7,9% increase in social protection was above the country's inflation rate (Van Wyngaardt 2018). However, the question remains whether the increase in different social grants matches the cost of living,

in order for beneficiaries to meet their basic needs. The poor and vulnerable who are not covered by grant provisions depend on the social grants received by members of their household for survival.

Mapula, a 39-year-old single mother, suggested that the government should assist adults like her:

The government should give me money, so that I can be able to do whatever I can with it.

Gift and **Wendi**, both aged 19 years and acting as heads of households, suggested:

For mothers, some of them are not working because of sickness; they can increase their money until their health picks up. [Gift]

Maybe they can give our mothers social grants too. [Wendi]

One possibility is to increase the BIG to an amount higher than suggested by the Taylor Commission. However, a small number of the research participants were against increases in the grant money. **Mendi**, a 22-year-old mother, suggested that an increase in social grants by the government will make people lazy:

Mendi: *I do not want the government to increase the money, because if it increases, we as youth, we are going to have more babies.*

Researcher: *Don't you want the government to increase the money so that you can buy other things for your baby?*

Mendi: *If the government increases the child support grant to R1 000, we will be lazy, it is free money.*

This view was supported by **Pinky**, who indicated that the increase in social grants, such as CSGs, would encourage youth to have more babies. She instead suggested that the government should provide food parcels and bursaries to needy people:

If the state increases social grants, like the child support grant, one day I have one child, and I will need to have another one so that I can have more money. So, the population is going to increase, putting a burden on the government to spend more on social grants. Maybe, it is better to provide food parcels and bursaries for poor families, and as Africans we help each other, my neighbour can assist me when I am in need.

Social grants remain important, especially for the most vulnerable, such as households affected by HIV and AIDS, not only for urgent needs such as food, but also for other basic needs such as transport for health care and job-seeking, education, to pay rent, and so on. Booysen and Van Der Berg (2005:551) indicate that social grant incomes contribute to 26% of the total household incomes amongst those affected by HIV and AIDS in South Africa. A large portion of the social grant income is spent on food, health and education, including funeral costs (Tshoose 2010; Booysen & Van Der Berg 2005; Samson *et al* 2005). Therefore, cutting social grants and providing only food parcels to vulnerable people will not help beneficiaries to sustain themselves and improve their living conditions.

Other research participants suggested improvements to housing provision, including RDP houses. **Sonto**, who lives in a shack with her family, wants the government to provide them with an RDP house:

I want the government to help us to get a better place, a better house, because here we don't feel safe.

Sylvia, who also lives in a shack with her family, and is unable able to work due to her poor health, said:

I want the government to assist me with a disability grant, because I cannot work for the rest of my life. The government should also assist me with an RDP house.

7.3.2 Suggestions with regard to human capacity development and job/business opportunities

The data-gathering for this study occurred before former president Jacob Zuma announced free tertiary education for vulnerable youth. However, the research already indicated that the government should provide free education. **Bongi**, who dropped out of school in Grade 1, wants her children to go far in their studies and become respectable people in society. Her wish is to see the government assist her child, who is in Grade 12, with a bursary:

I really want the government to sponsor my child to further her university studies, as she wants to become a medical doctor. Because even now, I am spending everything for these kids to go to school, and the main thing is that if I get a job as a domestic worker, when the boss talks to me I cannot hear anything. So, my wish is for the government to help my children with bursaries so that they can complete university and become respectable people in society.

Lola, who has a child who loves music, wanted the government to assist her child with a bursary, so that he can fulfil his dream:

I think the government should provide them with bursaries, because I was thinking that we have to see the talents of our kids. Like my child, she stopped with her studies, but I can see that she can sing very well, I was advising her to consider a career as a singer, and the boy likes to be a DJ, I am planning that if I have money, I will buy him some music equipment to help him to become an artist, because he likes music.

Tina, a young mother who does computer training at one of the skills development centres, supports the idea of “fees must fall”, which was initiated by free education activists in various tertiary institutions across South Africa. She indicated that free education would assist poor learners, including herself, whose parents struggle to pay for their university or colleges fees, to further their tertiary studies and become change agents in their households. She explained:

Yes, free education is good for poor learners. I think it will be better that way, because many youths are not going to school and do not have jobs

due to lack of money at home to further their studies. With fees must fall, if we were not paying school fees, I think that there is not going to be any problems. We are going to go and study for free.

The free higher education for poor and working-class students announced by the government (Tshwane 2018) will help many students, whose parents cannot afford to send them to tertiary educational institutions, to further their education and become change agents for their households. This will also allow parents to focus on other basic needs. Adult men and women who did not complete Grade 12 are willing to go back to school if the government assists them with bursaries. **Pindi**, who dropped out of school in Grade 9, is willing to go back to school if there is a bursary or scholarship for her, so that she can complete her Grade 12 and get a better job:

It will be good if the government can give me a bursary to go further in my education, so that I can finish my matric, because nowadays they only give jobs to people who have matric.

Khumalo, who regrets dropping out of school, also wants to go back to school to fulfil his dream of becoming an electrical engineer or plumber:

Researcher: *If an opportunity was given to you, like a scholarship to go back to school, would you accept it?*

Khumalo: *It is not going to be easy to go back to school, because I am also looking after my family. What I need now, it is a job.*

Researcher: *You said education is important, because if you were educated you could live a better life. Now, if they give you an opportunity, like a bursary and pocket money to study and improve your living conditions, are you going to accept it?*

Khumalo: *Yes, I will accept it.*

Researcher: *What are you going to do with the pocket money?*

Khumalo: *I will use the money to take care of my wife and child.*

Similarly, **Linda** also wants to go back to school, like her sister **Pemba**, but only if the government can assist her with a bursary:

Researcher: *If the government bursary is sufficient, will you still refuse it because you have to look after your children first?*

Linda: *If, on top of the bursary, they give pocket money, I can continue with my studies.*

Pemba: *Like me, I got a bursary, but I have not received the money yet, and I am struggling to pay for transport to go to school.*

Researcher: *So now, do you want to stop with your studies because of the problems that you are facing with your bursary?*

Pemba: *No, I won't because now I know the importance of education, but it is not easy. Imagine if I have three children, how am I going to take care of them if they do not give me pocket money?*

Researcher: *If you have three children, and the bursary does not include pocket money, are you not going to accept the bursary?*

Pemba: *I will say no, because who is going to take responsibility for my transport and my kids? Now I am struggling with the transport money. Even today, I am supposed to be in school, but I do not have money for transport, and next week we have to start writing our exams, so I have to save money for my exams, but absenteeism may affect my performance in school.*

The HSRC and LGSETA (2017:81) found that many unemployed learners prefer to attend ABET or skills development training that offers incentives or stipends, or even food during classes. A study conducted by the Educational Corner (2018) regarding the attitudes of adults returning to school found that although

education is beneficial for career advancement and improved living conditions, the majority of adults are concerned about the cost of studying, as well as the time spent in class and to complete the diploma or certificate. They are also afraid to attend classes with younger students, who may discriminate against them in the case of low performance. To deal with these challenges, the researcher has the view that ABET schools, which have adults of almost the same ages, or online studying, may be the ideal solution for this category of people to pursue their studies. However, it is important to motivate them with bursaries and pocket money.

There are very few skills development and vocational centres in informal settlements. The majority of these centres are located in towns and townships, which are far away from many informal settlements, where most of the social grant beneficiaries live. In some locations, primary and secondary schools are sometimes used as ABET schools at night, with the obvious risks, such of being attacked by criminals in dark places. Therefore, the majority of interviewees want the government to build more skills development and vocational centres, including crèches, near their places of residence, so that they can be safe and confident enough to attend classes.

Lola, who dropped out of school in Grade 11, wanted to go back to an ABET school, so that she can complete her Grade 12 and secure a better job. Her only challenge is the absence of government ABET schools and crèches near her home. Most ABET schools in her community consist of night classes in primary and secondary schools, which is not safe for her. She wants the government to build more skills development centres in her community, where youth and adults, including young children, may safely attend classes during the day. She explained:

For us I think there are ABET schools, where people attend at night, and it is not too expensive, but it depends on people who want to go further with their studies. The big problem for people like us, we spend most of our social grants on the crèches of our kids, the government should do something about that. And as I have many responsibilities in taking care of my kids and grandchildren, I do not have time to go to ABET school. If

the government can organize ABET school during the day, it will be better, but at night, it is quite difficult for me.

Wendi, a 19-year-old woman with Grade 9, has confirmed the existence of night adult schools in her community, which are free. She is willing to register at one of them, as her friends already attend, but she is babysitting her child, who is still young. She explained:

There are colleges for free, there are also night schools in some places, and my friends are going to those schools. I cannot now because I am doing babysitting.

These findings suggest an urgent need to build skills development and vocational centres (including ABET schools) close to the residential areas of vulnerable people.

Matondo, who works for a skills development centre, wants the government and private donors to assist his organisation with more funds, so that they can expand their training and improve their services. He also wants the government to assist them with sites to erect offices and classrooms. He explained:

We want the government to provide us with land where we can build and more funds to have more training. Because if we have more funds, more branches, and more training, our work will be easier.

Pasi echoed some of these sentiments and explained:

They give you funding for training, and with the amount they give, you must look for accredited service providers to provide training for which you have to pay, and sometimes, you find that the money is not enough. There are some people who want to do different courses, but we do not have money to train them on that. Therefore, if the government gives us more funds, we will be able to offer more training and reach a large number of people during our awareness campaigns.

The majority of research participants from NPOs, who promote education to vulnerable people in the community, want the government to invest more in the

promotion of education through various platforms. **Dlamini**, a caregiver who encourages most of her clients in the community, especially illiterate adults, to go back to school, wants the government to invest more in adult education. She explained:

Government should encourage people to go to school. By increasing the money, the government will encourage parents or adults to go back to school and get better jobs, so that they can prepare themselves to support their children when the social grants are cut.

The promotion of education by the government has an impact on the human capacity development of the population, especially vulnerable people, who often depend on social assistance from the government and other private donors. This will not only help them to acquire knowledge that will assist them to get better jobs or run their own businesses, but also their children and grandchildren. Biggeri *et al* (2006:63-64) argue that the capabilities of parents directly and indirectly influence the capabilities of the child – in other words, there is an intergenerational transfer of capabilities. For example, a parent can transfer his or her skills or knowledge to his or her child through training, or by paying school fees.

Some research participants suggested that the government must create more jobs and business opportunities for youth. **Mendi**, who does computer training at a skills development centre, indicated that she is doubtful of securing a job, as she knows many people with diplomas and degrees who are unemployed. She explained:

Besides free education, the government should create more jobs. Because after completing their studies, people must get jobs, otherwise, it is not good. I know many people who went to university and have many diplomas, but they are not working, I do not why.

Given, a 62-year-old woman, suggested that government should assist young people with jobs and business opportunities, so that they can become independent. She explained:

It is very painful to see many kids who have matric walking around without jobs, the government must do something for them, like create jobs or business opportunities for them, because if you have five kids, and all of them open their own businesses, who is going to bother other people? No one, because everyone will be busy with his or her own business.

Many scholars argue that to fight poverty in a country, the government should create more jobs and business opportunities for its population (Seligson 2008; Mazzarol 2014; Holmes, McCord, Hagen-Zanker, Bergh & Zanker 2013; Brynard 2011). A study conducted by Selington (2008:5) in 22 countries in North, Central and South America showed how the poor in these countries look to the government for job creation and business opportunities. Brynard (2011:77) argues that although the government has the responsibility to create jobs, it should put more effort into policies that encourage employment by the formal and informal business sectors. In 2018, in the State of the Nation Address (SONA) given by President Cyril Ramaphosa, such a commitment by government was outlined. He indicated that a summit will be organised where all stakeholders will discuss ways of assisting youth and other categories of vulnerable people with jobs and business opportunities (Business Tech 2018).

From the narratives of this theme, it is clear that government has an important role to play in improving the living conditions of poor people in the country, including those affected by HIV and AIDS. Social assistance, which is part of the Constitution, should be expanded to all poor people, irrespective of their age groups, and should be sufficient to allow beneficiaries to meet their basic needs. Poor people's human capacity development needs should be taken into consideration by the government, by providing educational assistance in order for them to enhance their potential skills, secure better jobs, and exit social grant programmes.

7.4 EXTENDED CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AFTER DATA ANALYSIS

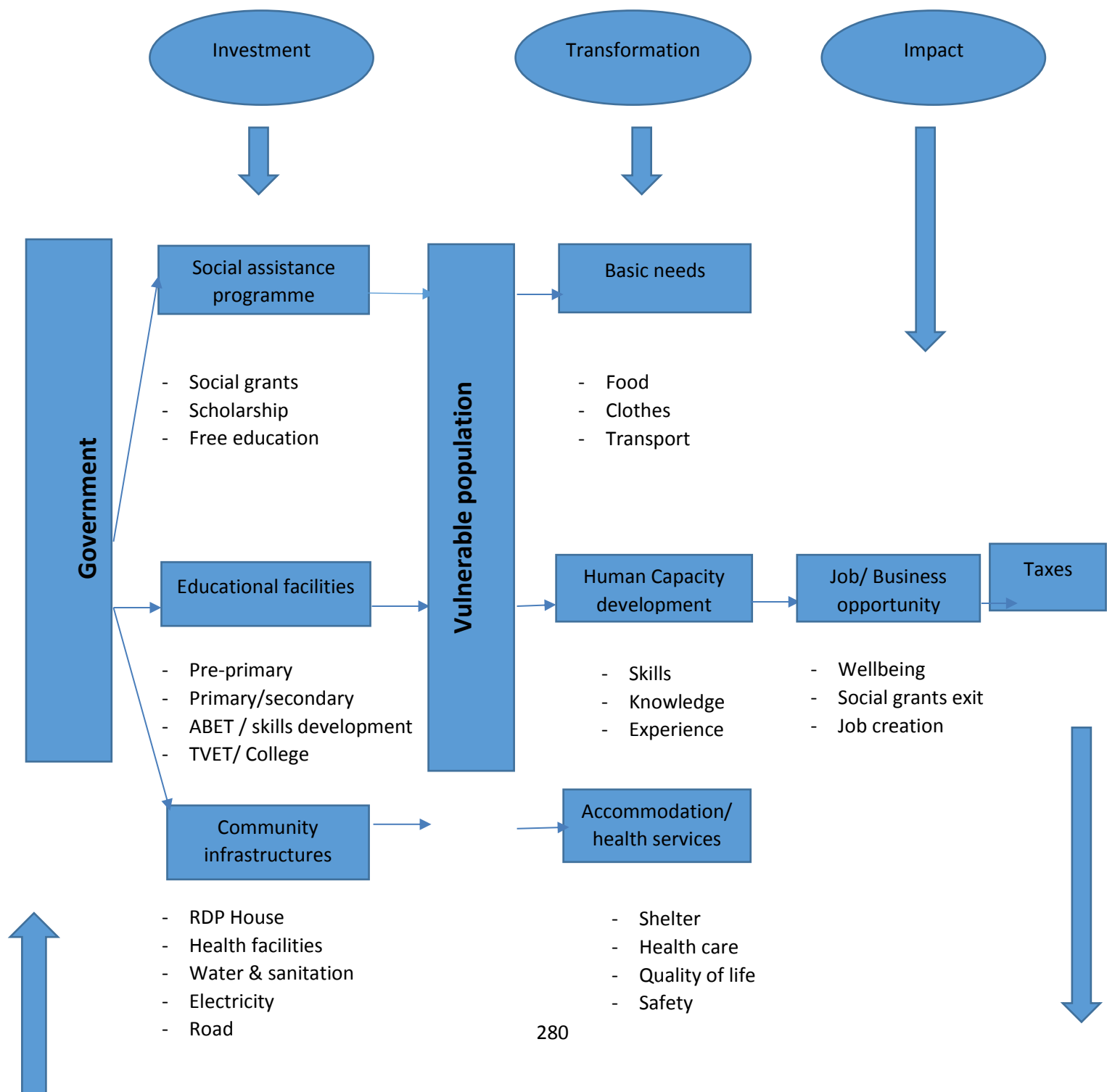
Section 27 (1) and (2) of the South African Constitution stipulates that all vulnerable people have the right to social security. This implies that the

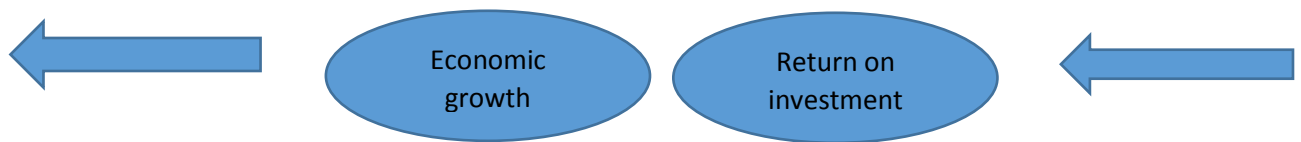
government spends large amounts annually on the social grants programme, in order to assist needy people to develop their capacity and improve their living conditions. This has become a concern for many social development practitioners and scholars, who argue that the government lacks social assistance programme exit strategies, or invests little in other social development programmes, such as job creation, in order to boost the economy. According to the SAIRR (2017) report on the relationship between social grants and job creation in South Africa since 2001, there has been an increase in the number of people in social grant programmes, in comparison to the number of people with jobs. For example, in 2001, there were 12 494 000 people with jobs and 3 993 133 people in the social grants programme. However, in 2016, there were 15 545 000 people with jobs, while 17 094 331 people were in the social grants programme. This means that between 2001 and 2016, the number of people receiving social grants increased by 328%, while those with jobs only increased by 24%.

In this chapter and the previous chapter, the empirical findings show that the majority of research participants who do not qualify for social grants due to their age and other reasons depend on other household members' social grants, such as the CSG, DG and old age grant, for survival. In addition, most of them have been in the social grants programme for many years, mostly because of a low level of education, which does not allow them to compete in the labour market. Furthermore, the amount received, which is shared among household members, is not enough to cover their basic needs, including human capacity development. The findings also revealed the existence of too few skills development centres in the community. These centres tend to be biased towards youth and women up to 35 years of age with Grade 12. Many of these centres, in collaboration with job placement agencies, assist trainees with job opportunities. The challenge is that the majority of jobs provided to these trainees are entry-level jobs, which have salaries lower than the social grants meant-test threshold, and do not allow them to exit from the social grants programme.

As stated in section 1.4.2 of Chapter One, the first objective of this study is to develop a framework linking social assistance and human capacity development. Therefore, the researcher developed a conceptual framework based on the findings and depicted in Figure 7.1 and explained below.

Figure 7.1: Conceptual framework linking social assistance and human capacity development of households affected by HIV and AIDS who are social grant beneficiaries





7.4.1 Comments on the framework

7.4.1.1 *Investment*

The government, in order to boost the economy, invests in the lives of vulnerable people, including those affected by HIV and AIDS and living in informal settlements, through adequate social grants and scholarships or free education, in order to enhance their human capacity. It also creates a conducive environment, by building government houses (RDP houses) for this category of people, with clean, drinkable water and sanitation, together with electricity. It also builds educational facilities in their community, such as pre-primary, primary and secondary schools, ABET and skills development, TVET or colleges, in order to improve their human capacity. In addition, it also builds health facilities in the community, such as clinics and hospitals, so as to avoid members of the community having to travel long distances to get health care treatment, as some of them live with HIV. It also builds roads and other infrastructures, which people in the community may need for their wellbeing.

7.4.1.2 *Transformation*

Through government investment, beneficiaries of social grants are able to meet their basic needs, such as nutritional food, clothes and transport. With the scholarship or free education received, they are able to increase their potential skills and knowledge at appropriate educational facilities in the community, in order to allow them to be competitive in the labour market. The other community infrastructures provided by government, such as RDP houses, health facilities and roads, will enable the population to protect themselves against bad weather and diseases,

receive proper health care, and live in a safe environment. The clean drinking water and sanitation, including electricity, will prevent them from contracting diseases and assist them with lighting and many other activities that require electricity.

7.4.1.3 *Impact*

Through the transformation process, such as human capacity development, many poor people will be able to secure better jobs or open their own businesses, which will assist them to improve their living conditions, and enjoy sustainable livelihoods. This will force them to exit the social grants programme, which will decrease the number of people who depend on social grants for survival. In addition, those who open their own businesses will be able to create job opportunities for other people, thereby helping the government to reduce unemployment. They will also be able to pay their personal and business taxes to government.

7.4.1.4 *Return on investment and economic growth*

The payment of various taxes by this category of people will allow the government to get a return on its investment, boost the economy, invest in other economic sectors, and ultimately achieve the objectives of the National Development Plan (NDP).

7.5 CONCLUSION

In chapter the researcher analysed and discussed the challenges faced by social grant beneficiaries in terms of meeting their basic and human capacity development needs. It also discussed different suggestions provided by research participants on how the government can improve social assistance or the social grants programme, in order to enable beneficiaries to meet their basic and human capacity development needs.

The findings of this discussion revealed that social grants received by beneficiaries do not allow them to cover their basic and educational needs. The cutting and suspension of social grants, as well as the misuse of social grants and conflicts among household members over these grants, negatively affect household incomes, especially the direct recipients, such as children.

Human capacity development challenges of beneficiaries, such as lack of educational facilities in the community, the limited training provided, and exclusion of certain population groups, such as old men and youth without matric, from skills development centres, prevent many vulnerable people from improving their potential skills. Despite multiple efforts made by caregivers and social workers in the community with regard to human capacity development, many youths, including adults, are not interested in education, and many of them are not aware of the availability of financial assistance provided by government and private organisations for study purposes.

There is also the challenge of securing jobs or business opportunities for those who complete their skills training. Most of them are struggling to get opportunities due to the high level of competition in the labour market. Those who manage to get jobs with the assistance of skills development centres are only offered entry-level jobs, whose salaries are often less than social grants mean-test exit requirements, thereby forcing them to remain in the social grant programme.

To deal with these challenges, many research participants provided some suggestions. In terms of meeting basic needs, the majority of them suggested the increase of social grants, and that the government should provide social grants to all poor people, irrespective of ages, as stipulated in the Constitution. Some suggested the suppression of social grants, arguing that it encourages laziness among beneficiaries. They instead suggested that the government should provide food parcels or food vouchers to vulnerable people, and bursaries for those who want to further their studies. On top of these suggestions, those living in informal settlements want the government to provide

them with RDP houses (government houses), so that they can protect themselves against bad weather and diseases.

In terms of human capacity development, the majority of research participants want the government to assist them and their children with scholarships and pocket money, so that they can continue with their studies. The government should also build more educational facilities in the community, where people can safely and confidently attend classes during the day. NPOs that provide skills training to some of social grant beneficiaries suggested that the government should assist them with more funds, in order to allow them to expand their activities and training. Suggestions were also made to the government to promote the importance of education in the community, and create more jobs and business opportunities for people in the community, in order to enable them to fight unemployment and exit from the social grants programme.

The last section of this chapter discussed the conceptual framework developed by the researcher, which links social assistance to human capacity development to allow beneficiaries to improve their living conditions, exit from the social grants programme and contribute to the economic development of the country. This framework was developed from the findings of the study and the theoretical framework used in the study, namely the social capital theory and capability approach.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous two chapters, data from interviews and observations were presented and interpreted according to themes. In addition, a conceptual framework linking social assistance to human capacity development was constructed, based on the review of literature and the empirical findings of this study. In this final chapter, a summary of the findings is presented, in the form of responses to the stated objectives of the study. From the findings, recommendations are made regarding possible improvements to social assistance policies and programmes in South Africa. Recommendations for further research on social assistance and human capacity development in South Africa are also provided.

In the first part of this chapter the researcher presents comments on the background and purpose of the study, including its objectives. This is followed by comments on the research methodology and theoretical framework used in this study. The last part of this chapter details problems encountered during the research process, as well as the limitations of the study. The chapter ends with a contemplation of the contributions of the study.

8.2 COMMENTS ON THE RESEARCH PROBLEM AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Since 1994, the South Africa government has introduced new social welfare policies and programmes, in order to allow needy and vulnerable people in the country to improve their socioeconomic living conditions. One of the main aims of the White Paper for Social Welfare (South Africa 1997:9) is to develop the human capacity of social assistance beneficiaries, so that they can obtain the necessary skills to sustain their livelihoods and participate in the economic development of the country. To achieve this aim, various social assistance or

social grant programmes, such as the CSG, old age grant and DG, were introduced.

Despite intensive government spending on this social assistance programme, and steep increases in the number of beneficiaries, the country's population still faces high levels of poverty and unemployment. In particular, job creation, and grant exit programmes are poorly developed at this stage. The National Development Plan (NDP) aims to reduce the percentage of people living in households with a monthly income of less than R419 per person from 39% to 0%, and the unemployment rate from 24.9% to 6% by 2030 (South Africa, Dept. of the Presidency 2012:34, 64). In addition, the poverty alleviation strategy of the NDP includes increasing total employment from 13 million people to 24 million people by 2030 (South Africa, Dept. of the Presidency 2011:34; Inchauste *et al* 2015:0). These are difficult aims to achieve in a context marked by a global financial crisis that started in 2007, and which has resulted in many countries' economic recovery lagging behind. Combined with a large and youthful population, reported state inefficiencies, corruption, low productivity, low domestic and foreign investment, an ageing infrastructure, and inadequate and insecure baseload electricity provision, the immediate outlook for the achievement of the kind of economic growth that can support these NDP aims is bleak.

In an attempt to gain insight into the possible solutions to these problems, this study analysed the impact that the South African social assistance or social grant policies and programmes have on the human capacity development of beneficiaries, with a focus on households affected by HIV and AIDS who are living in informal settlements. Of particular interest to this study was the possibility of social grant beneficiaries acquiring the necessary skills to improve their chances in the labour market, or in earning an income through their own enterprise. To this end this study set five objectives. Firstly, to compare South African social assistance policies and programmes with those of developed and other BRICS countries. Secondly, to investigate the challenges faced by social grant beneficiaries, especially households affected by HIV and AIDS, with regard to their human capacity development. Thirdly, to determine how the

research participants, as beneficiaries of social grants, use their grants, and how much is available for their human capacity development. Fourthly, based on the findings, to develop a conceptual framework that links social assistance to human capacity development, which leads to poverty alleviation, exit from the social assistance programme, and contribution to the economic development of the country. Fifthly, to provide recommendations on how to improve South Africa's social assistance policies and programmes, in order to enhance the human capacity of beneficiaries.

All of these objectives aim to contribute to the growth of knowledge in the development studies field, in terms of socioeconomic and socio-politic challenges and benefits related to the social assistance of beneficiaries, and their human capacity development.

8.3 COMMENTS ON THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THIS STUDY

Considering the nature and purpose of the study, this study made use of the qualitative approach, as well as explorative and case study techniques, in order to collect and analyse data. Data collection was done through observation and in-depth interviews with research participants, who were selected purposively. Research participants in this study included heads of households affected by HIV and AIDS, who are also beneficiaries of social grants living in the Olievenhoutbosch or Jeffsville informal settlements in Pretoria, South Africa. The other research participants were caregivers and social workers from NPOs, who work closely with social grant beneficiaries in these two informal settlements. The researcher also collected data from DSD and SASSA officials, who are involved in the development and implementation of social grant policies and programmes, including human capacity development.

Data analysis was done through transcribed interview data and field notes, using the eight steps proposed by Tesch, which include the following: getting the bigger picture by reading the transcriptions carefully; discovering the underlying meanings in each interview; making a list of all topics and grouping them

together; abbreviating topics as codes; transforming topics into themes and categories; deciding on final abbreviations of themes and alphabetising of codes; performing a preliminary analysis; and recoding the existing data (Sensing 2011:204-205; Deen 2015:110-111).

In line with the research paradigm perspective, the researcher considered making the right choice of qualitative research methodology (interpretive methodology), as he was not interested in examining the objective relationship between variables, but aimed to explore and understand social problems experienced by social grant beneficiaries in terms of human capacity development. This is the reason why he used open-ended questions and responses during interviews with participants in the research setting, in order to allow them to freely express their views and share their experiences on issues related to social grants and human capacity development. Scotland (2012:12), citing Creswell, considers interpretive methodology as a technique for investigating a phenomenon from the individual's perspective, and the interaction between individuals, including people's historical and cultural contexts.

For the theoretical framework, this study was informed by the concept social capital, especially Lin's approach. Lin (2001:19) considers social capital as an investment in social networks for an expected return. This suited the goals of this study, in which the government and vulnerable populations were regarded as the two major actors in the field of social protection in a sustainable way. The government, in order to boost its economy, invests in the human capacity development of poor and vulnerable people through social assistance or social grants, in order to improve their living conditions. In return, people who are economically empowered in this way pay taxes, consume goods and services, and contribute to the economy.

The capability approach also informed the conceptual apparatus of this study. In particular, it enabled a view of social assistance provided by the government to vulnerable people as facilitating the acquisition of capabilities (knowledge, skills and attitudes) that can improve their living conditions and wellbeing.

Despite government social assistance, the majority of recipients are still limited in terms of exercising their economic and political freedom to escape poverty, as they struggle to improve their educational status and secure proper employment or business opportunities, due to the economic and political challenges that they face, such as the high cost of education, lack of proper government employment, and lack of business plans.

Using concepts from the theoretical framework to guide both data generation and analysis, six themes related to the aims and objectives of this study emerged. Among them are biographical details of research participants; understanding, application, use of and dependency on social grants; understanding and importance of human capacity development; the role of NPOs in capacity development activities for social grant beneficiaries; challenges faced by social grant beneficiaries in meeting basic needs and capacity development; and suggestions to the government.

8.4 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

8.4.1 Comparison between the social assistance systems of South Africa, OECD and BRICS countries

In chapter two, social assistance systems and models used by some OECD and BRICS countries were discussed. In chapter three, the social assistance system used in South Africa was analysed. A recurrent theme in these and other chapters was the researcher's sustained attempt to link the various social assistance systems with the notion of human capacity development programmes.

The findings revealed that the majority of OECD countries, except the United States, use an institutional or universal social assistance model, where all members of the society, regardless of their incomes or means, are beneficiaries of social assistance programmes. This includes other benefits such as public

education and health, which generally contribute to improved human capacity and health status, and by extension, the ability to secure a dignified live and future (Segal 2016; Bleau & Abramovits 2010). The advantage of this model is that all people are entitled to social benefits, thereby preventing problems such as stigmatisation of so-called 'welfare recipients'. The model also reduces unemployment, as it ensures education with a view to securing a job or a business. Moreover, the benefits to the overall health status of the population are obvious (Pastel 2005:144). However, the social assistance model used in these countries is very costly, as governments have to provide social benefits to everyone, including those who are financially stable.

Other countries, such as the United States, Brazil, Russia, India and China, use a selective or means-test social assistance model, which only provides social assistance benefits to needy people and families. Some countries, such as Brazil, use a CCT system, where recipients have to comply with certain requirements, such as for children to be enrolled in schools and to attend classes regularly. The United States has various social assistance programmes for needy families, including education social welfare, where recipients with a low level of education are enrolled in vocational or skills development centres. The main objectives of these social assistance strategies are to improve the living conditions of recipients, and to prevent them from depending permanently on social assistance for their survival (Falk 2012:13).

South Africa, despite its low economic growth (compared with OECD and other BRICS countries), has a comprehensive social assistance programme that is also selective or means-tested, and which targets the poorest and most vulnerable individuals (Patel 2005:146). The social assistance system has undergone several modifications over the years. Despite the attempt to equalise social assistance benefits between races in a democratic South Africa, the current system only accommodates certain groups of needy people, namely children up to the age of 18 years (CSG), old people from 60 years upward (Old Age Grant), and very sick people (DG). Other categories of vulnerable groups of people, such as the unemployed, those living below the poverty line, and disabled people, who do not meet set medical requirements, are excluded.

Many of these 'missed' vulnerable people rely on the social grants received by their children, younger siblings or old relatives.

The government assists needy households with temporary social assistance through the social relief distress grant, where vulnerable people receive food parcels, food vouchers or other financial means to deal with short-term problems. This assistance varies between three to six months, depending on the circumstances faced by recipients. They also benefit from free education (primary and secondary), health care and the so-called RDP housing scheme.

A committee of enquiry established by the DSD recommended a universal social assistance system that will provide a BIG of R100 each month to all people living in South Africa, irrespective of their level of income. This is in order to reduce poverty and promote human capacity development and sustainable development (Brockhoff 2013:26; Strydom *et al* 2006:231). Although the suggestion was welcomed by many civil society organisations, including labour unions such as COSATU, it was rejected by the government, which argued that it would be too costly for the country.

8.4.2 Use of social grant money for basic and human capacity development needs

The findings revealed that social grants received by vulnerable people, including households affected by HIV and AIDS, assist in meeting urgent basic needs, such as food and transport to hospitals, clinics, schools, job searches or piece jobs. Sometimes, the money is used to pay for children's crèches, especially for parents or guardians who do not have caretakers for young children. Beneficiaries sometimes use the money to buy school uniforms, clothes and shoes for their children. Others pay rent or electricity with their grant money, especially people who rent shacks or rooms while waiting for the finalisation of their government housing applications. Some social grant beneficiaries invest a portion of their social grants in income-generating activities, such as building

rooms for renting, or investing in a “stokvel”⁷, or saving it in a bank account. However, the findings clearly showed that many of the recipients were unable to meet their basic needs. The majority have no money left at the end of the month to pay for their own or their adult children’s education. This forces some of them to find other ways of surviving, such as getting assistance from relatives or charity organisations, in order to be able to meet some of their basic needs. Others even borrow money from moneylenders, and then have to pay it back at a high interest rate. The lack of investment in education prevents many social grant beneficiaries, who do not have proper qualifications, from improving their educational status and securing a better job, as most jobs in the labour market require the applicants to have at least matric or Grade 12.

Some NPOs provide skills development training, such as food gardening, sewing, basic computer skills, call centre skills, security guard training, and cashier training. Some skills development centres work with placement agencies to assist in securing jobs for their trainees. They also connect some of their trainees, who want to start their own businesses, with public and private financial organisations for business loans and/or financial advice.

8.4.3 Challenges faced by social grant beneficiaries

The findings of this study revealed that the biggest challenge faced by social grant beneficiaries is the insufficient money that they receive. The majority of research participants reported that the grant does not meet their basic needs, especially households that receive only a single social grant. This is despite the annual increase of social grants by the government. Some scholars, such as Delany and Jehoma (2016), argue that the government’s constant social grant increases are often below the national poverty line, especially with food price inflation.

⁷ South African informal investment society to which members regularly contribute an agreed amount and from which they receive a lump sum payment.

One of the other challenges faced by beneficiaries is the discontinuation of their social grants by SASSA due to the child reaching the age of 19 years, the death of direct recipients, or the improved health status of a DG recipient. The misuse of grants by parents, and conflicts between household members over guardianship of children receiving social grants, constitute another challenge.

The money received by beneficiaries is also not enough to invest in their human capacity development, despite their willingness to improve their educational status. The lack of educational facilities in poor communities, limited number of training programmes provided by vocational and skills development centres in the community, and the exclusion of certain population groups from these training programmes, such as youth without matric and adult men, constitute another human capacity development challenge for social grant beneficiaries.

Many social grant beneficiaries are not interested in education. Finding a job or establishing a small business is not guaranteed, even after completing training. This is due to high competition in the labour market, where companies prefer to hire people with higher levels of education and experience. In addition, those who manage to get jobs through skills development centres are only offered entry-level jobs, for which the salaries are often less than the social grants mean-test exit requirements.

8.4.4 Suggestions from research participants to the government

To deal with social assistance or social grant challenges, research participants provided some suggestions to the government with regard to basic and human capacity development needs. To be able to meet basic needs, the majority of research respondents suggested the increase of social grants, despite disagreement among them about the exact amount by which it should be increased. They also suggested that the government should provide social assistance to all poor people living in South Africa, irrespective of their ages. However, some research participants were against the increase of social grants, arguing that it would encourage dependency. They instead suggested the total

suppression of social grants, with the government providing food parcels to needy people.

The majority of social grant beneficiaries suggested that the government should provide children with scholarships based on a stipend. In addition, it was recommended that the government erect educational facilities in poor communities, where youth and adults can easily and safely attend classes during the day. Research participants from NPOs and NGOs suggested that the government should provide more funds to their organisations and promote education in informal settlements.

8.4.5 Conceptual framework linking social assistance to human capacity development

As detailed in Chapter Seven, the researcher developed a conceptual framework that links social assistance with human capacity development, and leads to beneficiaries' improved living conditions and exit from social assistance programmes, in order to enable them to contribute to the economy through taxes and job creation. The government should invest in the lives of vulnerable people through social assistance programmes, such as social grants, scholarships, houses, health care, clean water, sanitation, transport and electricity. This will transform the livelihoods of vulnerable people in the following ways: they will be able to live in a clean and safe environment, enjoy good health, be capacitated, get better jobs or earn an income, and meet their basic needs. This, in turn, will allow them to exit from social assistance programmes and to pay taxes to the government. This will ultimately enable the government to get a return on its investment.

8.5 RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY

From the findings, this study provides recommendations with regard to social protection of poor and vulnerable people in South Africa, prevention of misuse of social grants by parents or guardians, human capacity development, and job and business opportunities for social grant beneficiaries. In addition,

recommendations are made pertaining to public infrastructure for vulnerable people, NPO activities with regard to social grant beneficiaries' needs, and government expenditure on social grants and human capacity development programmes.

8.5.1 Recommendations for the social protection of the poor and vulnerable in South Africa

As South Africa has limited financial resources, it would seem reasonable for the selective or means-tested social assistance system to continue. This will allow the most vulnerable people and households in the country to be able to meet their basic needs, including human capacity development.

It is further recommended that the conditionalities for the different grants remain in place, but that a youth conditional grant be added. This grant should be provided to young people between the ages of 19 and 25 years of age from low income families, with the stipulation that they register at an educational institution, such as a university, college, or vocational or skills development centre, attend at least 80% of lectures, or do all assignments and complete all assessments. The failure to do this should result in their grant being suspended.

In addition, a temporary conditional unemployment grant should be introduced for unemployed adults between the ages of 26 and 59 years. Recipients of this grant should be subjected to certain conditions, such as doing community service work for a determined number of hours per week, and attending vocational or skills development training. The duration of this grant should not exceed three years. The grant should be suspended if they fail to meet these requirements.

8.5.2 Recommendations for increases in social grant money

Since the grant money is insufficient to cover the basic needs of most recipients, the value should be revised in consideration of the inflation rate. This should be supplemented by food parcels or food vouchers. The government should

provide learners from poor households with school uniforms, stationery, and sanitary pads. The study also recommends that charity organisations and private businesses should assist poor households with donations, clothes, shoes, food, and basic health care, in order to meet their basic needs.

8.5.3 Recommendations for prevention of the misuse of social grants by parents or guardians

The misuse of children's social grants and conflict between adult household members over the guardianship of children's social grants infringes upon children's social rights. Therefore, this study recommends that social workers and NPO caregivers report any wrongdoing by parents or guardians with regard to children's social grants to SASSA or any law enforcement agency. In this regard, awareness campaigns should be organised from time to time by the DSD, in collaboration with other departments, such as SAPS, including civil society, to make community members aware of such issues.

8.5.4 Recommendations pertaining to the human capacity development of social grant beneficiaries

It is recommended that a commission of enquiry be established to investigate the structuring of study loans to students from low-income families attending universities and colleges (South Africa Dept. of Presidency 2017), in order to progressively repay these loans once they are employed. The loan should cover study fees, accommodation, food and transport. Young people without Grade 12 should be able to get free education, funded by the government, at vocational and skills development centres in their communities. This will allow them to be capacitated with adequate skills to secure better jobs or to create their own businesses.

The government should erect more community centres in poor communities, where vocational and skills development training (including childcare for parents of young children) will be provided. The government should expand the scope of possible training to be offered by vocational and skills development centres.

The Department of Basic Education should introduce additional skills at the secondary level, such as food gardening, baking, sewing, carpentry and other semi-skilled training. All vocational and skills development training should be of a high standard and accredited by the SETA, in order to allow trainees to be competitive in the labour market and meet the industry requirements. To achieve this, SETA, educational institutions and firms should work together in the development of curriculum frameworks that meet industry needs (Kruss *et al* 2012:35-36). The government, in collaboration with civil society, should promote the importance of education in the fight against poverty through various platforms, such as awareness campaigns in the community, media, posters.

8.5.5 Recommendations regarding job and business opportunities for social grant beneficiaries

The government should put in place, as suggested by President Cyril Ramaphosa in his 2018 SONA, a youth employment programme to assist youths to secure jobs (Daily Maverick 2018). The government should also provide employment subsidies to some big companies, in order for them to employ young people for a limited period in their industries. This will enable young people to gain practical job experience, which will make them competitive in the labour market, or enable them to run their own businesses, if not retained permanently by the host companies.

The government should also set a minimum wage that is above the social grant exit requirements, which will allow trainees and graduate students who have secured jobs to exit from social grant programmes. Those who complete their vocational and skills development training and cannot get jobs should be assisted by public and private financial institutions with business loans and financial advice, in order to enable them to open their own businesses or cooperatives.

The government, through SASSA and other public departments, such as the Department of Labour, should work together to put in place mechanisms to

identify people who are working and earning a good salary to exit the social grants programme.

8.5.6 Recommendations pertaining to public infrastructure for vulnerable people

Beside the educational facilities suggested in section 8.5.4, the government should assist informal settlement dwellers with RDP houses erected in safe neighbourhoods, including proper roads, shopping centres, sport and recreation facilities. The government should ensure that there are sufficient health care facilities, such as clinics and hospitals, for community members, including people living with HIV and AIDS.

8.5.7 Recommendations pertaining to NPO activities with regard to social grant beneficiaries' needs

The government should assist NPOs that work with poor and vulnerable people, including households affected by HIV and AIDS, with adequate funds to assist them to reach a large number of vulnerable people and improve their activities, such as vocational and skills training, health care, and moral and psychological support. The government should also assist NGOs with capacity building training, in order to enable them to effectively and efficiently run their programmes and projects, and generate their own income to sustain themselves.

8.5.8 Recommendations pertaining to government expenditure on social grants and human capacity development programmes

The complexity of these recommendations will require large financial injections that the government alone cannot bear. Therefore, this study recommends, beside the tax contributions from employers and employees, that a social assistance fund be introduced to finance social grant programmes, which can be funded through donations of private businesses, including charitable organisations and individuals.

8.6 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Since this study focused only on the sample of households affected by HIV and AIDS who are beneficiaries of social grants living in two Pretoria informal settlements, this study recommends that this research project be replicated on national level for all categories of social grant beneficiaries. This is in order to obtain a general overview of how social grants impact on the human capacity development and sustainable development of all beneficiaries in South Africa.

During the interview process, SASSA officials acknowledged the challenges of identifying social grant recipients who have improved their living conditions or died, and who should therefore be removed from the social grants programme. This study recommends that a study be conducted on the identification of social grant beneficiaries who should be removed or exit from the programme.

Another recommendation is that further research be conducted on conflicts between household members with regard to the guardianship of children who are fostered.

8.7 PROBLEMS AND LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY

A qualitative research approach was used in this study, which does not allow for the generalisation of the findings. However, it provided the necessary information about the impact of social assistance in South Africa and other parts of the world on the capacity development of the beneficiaries.

The majority of research participants could not speak English fluently, so they mostly used their home languages during the interviews. This required the assistance of interpreters. Three interpreters, who are NPO caregivers, assisted in the translation of these interviews. However, the researcher was not in position to verify the authenticity of the translations.

With the limited number of NPOs assisting community members with social grant issues and skills development training at the research sites, namely Olievenhoutbosch and Jeffville, the researcher was obliged to conduct interviews with other NPOs that provide the same services, but outside the research sites. For example, the researcher conducted interviews with an official from a skills development centre in Mamelodi, Pretoria, together with a social grant beneficiary living in the informal settlement of Mamelodi and attending training at that skills development centre. The objective was to collect data that is relevant to the study, as these categories of research participants experience the same issues as the research sites.

8.8 CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STUDY

Although many scholars have studied social assistance and its impact on the poverty reduction of beneficiaries, there is a paucity of research on the impact of social grants on the human capacity development of beneficiaries, including households affected by HIV and AIDS. Thus, the contribution of this study lies in its ability to produce in-depth knowledge of the developmental impact of the South African social assistance system on poverty alleviation at the level of selected households. This study will also help social assistance policymakers to become aware of the challenges faced by the beneficiaries, in order to enable them to develop strategies for meeting their capacity development needs.

8.9 CLOSING STATEMENT

This study analysed the impact that South Africa social assistance or social grants policies and programmes has on the human capacity development of beneficiaries, with a focus on households affected by HIV and AIDS living in informal settlements. By making use of a qualitative approach and theoretical framework, namely social capital, based on Lin's approach, this study produced six themes, which were discussed in detail in Chapters Six and Seven. The findings of this study revealed that despite the efforts made by the government to assist vulnerable people, including households affected by HIV and AIDS, through various social grant programmes, the money provided does not allow

them to cover their basic needs, including human capacity development. Furthermore, despite the skills development training provided by some government-funded NPOs operating in poor communities, in order to assist vulnerable people to become capacitated and improve their living conditions, the majority of beneficiaries are still unemployed, living in poverty, and largely dependent on social grants for survival.

To deal with these challenges, this study developed a conceptual framework (see Chapter Seven) that links social assistance to human capacity development, which leads to poverty alleviation, exit from social assistance, and contribution to the economic development of the country. This study also provided some recommendations to the South African government on how to improve its social grants policies and programmes, in order to help beneficiaries to meet their basic and human capacity development needs, improve their living conditions, and contribute to the economic growth of the country.

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Acts, Statutes and Laws

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APPENDIX A: RESEARCH PARTICIPANT'S CONSENT FORM

Dear participant,

My name is Nkay Pascal Kiabilua, I am currently registered for a doctoral degree in the Department of Development studies at the University of South Africa (UNISA). As part of the requirements for this degree, I am expected to undertake research in the field of my studies. The purpose of the study is to investigate the impact that South Africa social assistance policies and programmes has on the human capacity development of households affected by HIV and AIDS beneficiaries of the South Africa social assistance (Social grants).

I would very much like to conduct a plus minus 45 minutes face-to-face interview with you, in order to obtain the necessary information for this study. I would like to assure you that all of the information you will provide during the course of this study including your identity will be treated with the strictest confidentiality. This interview will be recorded by means of a tape recorder, in order to facilitate the transcription process. The recording will be erased as soon as it is no longer needed.

Your participation in this study is voluntary, and you therefore have the right not to answer some of the questions or to withdraw from the study at any time.

Thank you for your willingness to participate in this study.

Nkay Pascal Kiabilua
Researcher

I have read and fully understood this consent form, and I agree to voluntarily participate in this study.

Participant's name:
Participant's signature:

Researcher's signature:
Date:

APPENDIX B1: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO INTERVIEW DSD OFFICIALS

Mr Nkay Pascal Kiabilua
Department of Development studies
University of South Africa
Cell: +27745598909
Email: paskiab@yahoo.com
Pretoria, 30 August 2017

Dr. Sello Mokoena
Department of Social Development (DSD)
Johannesburg
RSA

Dear Dr. Mokoena,

Re: Request for permission to interview DSD officials

My name is Nkay Pascal Kiabilua, currently registered for a doctoral degree in the Department of Development Studies at the University of South Africa (UNISA).

In the fulfilment of the requirements for my doctoral qualification, I have to undertake a research project entitled: ***The Impact of Social Assistance on Human Capacity Development: A Study amongst Households affected by HIV and AIDS in South Africa.***

The purpose of the study is to investigate the impact that South Africa social assistance policies and programmes have on human capacity development of households affected by HIV and AIDS beneficiaries of social grants provided by SASSA.

This study would require input from Department of Social Development officials. I hereby approach your high authority to request permission to conduct interviews with Department of Social Development officials who are involved in the implementation of social grant policies and programmes.

It will be face-to-face interviews for the duration of one hour. I will use a tape recorder to guarantee the transcription process. Ethical considerations and measures will be applied, in order to prevent harm and protect the confidentiality of the participants.

Your support in this regard will be greatly appreciated.

Yours truly,
Nkay Pascal Kiabilua

APPENDIX B2: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO INTERVIEW SASSA OFFICIALS

Mr Nkay Pascal Kiabilua
Department of Development Studies
University of South Africa
Cell: +27745598909
Email: paskiab@yahoo.com
Pretoria, 21 August 2017

Ms Pearl Bengu
Chief Executive Officer
South African Social Security Agency (SASSA)
Pretoria
RSA

Dear Ms Bengu,

Re: Request for permission to interview SASSA officials

My name is Nkay Pascal Kiabilua, currently registered for a doctoral degree in the Department of Development Studies at the University of South Africa (UNISA).

In the fulfilment of the requirements for my doctoral qualification, I have to undertake a research project entitled: ***The Impact of Social Assistance on Human Capacity Development: A Study amongst Households affected by HIV and AIDS in South Africa.***

The purpose of the study is to investigate the impact that South Africa social assistance policies and programmes have on human capacity development of households affected by HIV and AIDS beneficiaries of social grants provided by SASSA.

This study would require input from SASSA officials. I hereby approach your high authority to request permission to conduct interviews with SASSA officials who are involved in the implementation of SASSA social grant policies and programmes.

It will be face-to-face interviews for the duration of one hour. I will use a tape recorder to guarantee the transcription process. Ethical considerations and measures will be applied, in order to prevent harm and protect the confidentiality of the participants.

Your support in this regard will be greatly appreciated.

Yours truly,

Nkay Pascal Kiabilua

APPENDIX C1: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (Head of households affected by HIV/AIDS)

1. Section 1: Demographic profile questions

- Name of informal settlement
- Pseudonym
- Gender
- Age
- Level of education
- Employment status
- Numbers of household members
- Numbers of household members' beneficiaries of social grants
- Types of social grants received
- Year of start receiving social grants

2. Section 2: Interview questions including probing questions

- What does a social grant mean to you personally? (Probe for positive and negative perceptions)
- What does a social grant mean to your household? (Probe for positive and negative perceptions)
- What are the benefits of social grants?
- Are there any disadvantages to receiving a social grant? Tell me about them, please?
- What is your understanding of human capacity development or education?
- If you hear the words "human capacity development", what does it mean to you?
- What is the value of education?

- Do you believe that with good education, people can escape poverty? Explain.
- I would like to talk to you about the reasons that made you apply for a social grant?
 - What made you apply? (Probe for poverty, unemployment. etc.)
 - Can you survive without a social grant? Give reasons
- Now let us discuss how you use your social grant?
 - Does the social grant assist your household to meet your basic needs? Explain.
 - Do you have money or resources left over in a month to spend on education or skills development? (Probe for self and for other household members).
 - Does the social grant mostly go towards medical and health-related expenses? Tell me about this, please.
- What challenges do you face with your social grants?
 - Do you regularly get your social grant on time?
 - Has your application ever been rejected?
 - Do SASSA officials ever treat you badly?
- What are the main problems facing you and your household at the moment? (Probe for poverty unemployment, poor health, malnutrition, etc.)
- If you could offer advice on how social grants can be used for education and skills development, what would you say? (Probe for additional skills development grants or views on increasing the monetary value of the grant, etc.).
- Is anything that you want to add regarding social grants and capacity development or education?

APPENDIX C2: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (SOCIAL WORKERS AND NGO OFFICIALS)

Section A : Demographic profile questions

1. Pseudonym
2. Gender
3. Organisation
4. Position

Section B: Interview questions including probing questions

1. What is your understanding of developmental social assistance or social grants?
2. What is your understanding of human capacity development or skills development (education)?
3. What impact social grants have on the human capacity development of the beneficiaries?
 - Explain whether social grants received by the beneficiaries assist them to improve their human capacity or education level?
 - Do you think social grants received by the beneficiaries are enough to pay for the education or skills development of households' members? Explain.
4. How do you (social worker or NGOs member) assist social grants beneficiaries to develop their human capacities or skills?
 - How do you assist social grants beneficiaries to make some of their grants available for their skills development or education?
 - How do you assist social grants beneficiaries to become independent from social assistance through human capacity or skills development trainings?
 - What kind of skills development assistance or advice do you provide to social grants beneficiaries to improve their living conditions?
5. What are the challenges do you face with social grants beneficiaries with regard to the development of their human capacities or skills?

- What are the problems do you encounter with social grants beneficiaries when assisting them to improve their skills or acquire new skills?
6. What can be done to improve the human capacities of social grants beneficiaries?
- Do you have some suggestions on how to improve social grants programs in order to facilitate the human capacity or skills development of the beneficiaries?

APPENDIX C3: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (DEPT. OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND SASSA OFFICIALS)

Section A: Demographic profile questions

1. Pseudonym
2. Gender
3. Institution
4. Position
- 5.

Section B: Interview questions including probing questions

1. What is your understanding of the South African developmental social assistance program?
 - What are the goals and objectives of South African social assistance (social grants) in general?
 - How specifically does the social assistance program address the human capacity development of the beneficiaries? And their educational needs?
 - What is the role of the department of Social Development and SASSA in human capacity development of social grant beneficiaries?
 - What more can or should be done to extend the social assistance to address skills development or education?
2. Now I would like to hear your views on the impact of social grants on the human capacity development of the beneficiaries
 - Do you think that social grants assist beneficiaries to meet their basic needs?
 - What about their educational needs?
3. Many people between the ages of 19 and 59 years do not qualify for social grants, except the disability grant. Given the high level of poverty and unemployment in the country, what can the department of social development and SASSA do to assist this category of people to develop their human capacity?
 - What capacity development program or plan exists for this category of people?

- What more can or should be done?
4. HIV/AIDS impact negatively on the income of many households. Can social grants capacitate households affected by HIV/AIDS? Explain.
 5. Please tell me about challenges faced by the department and SASSA regarding human capacity development for grant recipient-households affected by HIV and AIDS?
 6. Many poor South Africans rely heavily (or even exclusively) on social grants to survive. Do you think that some are trapped in an endless cycle of grant dependence? If yes, what can be done to escape this? (Probe for human capacity development strategies)?
 - Why do some grant recipients become long-term grant dependents?
 - Do some grant recipients escape grant dependence? How?
 - In your experience, has the number of grant beneficiaries increased in the last 5 years? What are the reasons for this? Is this trend sustainable?
 7. Is there anything you can add in terms of social grants and capacity development of the beneficiaries?

APPENDIX D1: ETHICAL CLEARANCE FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES



DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES RESEARCH ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE APPLICATION FOR ETHICS REVIEW AND CLEARANCE

Date: 18/11/2015

Ref
#:2015_DEVSTUD_Student_16
Name of applicant: Mr/Ms Nkay
Pascal Kiabilua
Student #: 30854393

Dear Mr/Ms Nkay Pascal Kiabilua

Decision: Ethical Clearance

Name: MR/Ms Nkay Pascal Kiabilua

Student in the Department of Development Studies; Supervisor Prof. GE Du Plessis

Proposal: The Impact of Social Assistance on Human Capacity Development: A Study
Amongst Households Affected by HIV and AIDS in South Africa

E-mail: paskiab@yahoo.com

Qualification: Doctoral Degree in Development Studies

Thank you for the application for research ethics clearance by the Department of Development Studies' Research Ethics Review Committee for the above mentioned research. Your application was reviewed in compliance with the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics by the Department of Development Studies' Research Ethics Review Committee on 18/11/2015.

The proposed research may now commence with the proviso that:

- 1) The researcher/s will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.
- 2) Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study, as well as changes in the methodology, should be communicated in writing to the Department of Development Studies' Research



Open Rubric

University of South Africa
Pretorius Street, Muckleneuk Ridge, City of Tshwane
PO Box 392 UNISA 0003 South Africa
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Ethics Review Committee. An amended application could be requested if there are substantial changes from the existing proposal, especially if those changes affect any of the study-related risks for the research participants.

- 3) The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study.

Note:

The reference number 2015_DEVSTUD_Student_16 should be clearly indicated on all forms of communication. [E.g. Webmail, E-mail messages, letters] with the intended research participants, as well as with the Department of Development Studies' Research Ethics Review Committee.

Kind regards,


.....
Dr LJ Ntema
Departmental Chairperson-ERC
Department of Development Studies
Room TvW 4-25
Tel 012 429 2121
E-mail: ntemalj@unisa.ac.za

Approval template 2014

University of South Africa
Pretorius Street, Muckleneuk Ridge, City of Tshwane
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Telephone: +27 12 429 3111 Facsimile: +27 12 429 4150
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APPENDIX D2: LETTER OF PERMISSION FOR THE STUDY FROM SASSA



SASSA HOUSE
501 Prodinsa Building
Cnrs Steve Biko & Pretorius Str
Pretoria
0083

Mr. Nkayi Pascal Kiabilua
University of South Africa
Student No.: 30854393

Dear Mr. Kiabilua

RE: Permission to conduct interviews with Sassa officials towards your Research studies.

Sassa acknowledges receipt of your request to give permission to conduct interviews towards your PhD studies for your topic 'Impact of Social Assistance on Human capacity development: A study amongst households affected by HIV/AIDS in SA.

As a progressive and developmental Agency we promote and support research that enhances knowledge and development. We have considered your request and your proposal and are happy that the above tenets will be achieved. We are further satisfied that you have demonstrated appreciation of and provided relevant documents towards acceptable ethics in line with our legislation.

We hereby give permission to your request. We urge you to observe at all material times, reasonable respect for individuals, rules and information that will be shared with you. We remain owners of any information that you might be privy to in your research and cannot be used for anything else other than this study without prior written permission from SASSA.

We thank you for your interest and look forward to receiving your final report which might assist us improve our service. As discussed in our meeting, your direct dealing will be with Sassa official at the Region.

Kind Regards

Mrs K Sefularo
General Manager: Social Security Reforms

16/09/2017



Together.
Moving South Africa Forward

South African Social Security Agency
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APPENDIX D3: LETTER OF PERMISSION FROM GAUTENG DSD



Enquiries: Dr. Sello Mokoena
Tel: (011) 3557855
File no.: 2/9/72

MR/MS PASCAL KIABILUA

Dear Mr/Ms Pascal Kiabilua

**RE: APPLICATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE GAUTENG DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL
DEVELOPMENT**

Thank you for your application to conduct research within the Gauteng Department of Social Development.

Your application on the research on "The Impact of Social Assistance on Human Capacity Development: A Study Amongst Households Affected by HIV and AIDS in South Africa" has been considered and approved for support by the Department as it was found to be beneficial to the Department's vision and mission. The approval is subject to the Department's terms and conditions as endorsed on the 15th of September 2017. In order for the department to learn and draw from the findings and recommendations of your study, please note that you are requested to provide the department with a copy of your dissertation/thesis once your study has been completed.

May I take this opportunity to wish you well on the journey you are about to embark on.

We look forward to a value adding research and a fruitful co-operation.

With thanks


Mr M MAMPURU
Acting Head of Department
Date: 2017/09/21